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BOSTON BOOKBINDING CO

THE
ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES
ON THE CROWN.

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORATION OF AÆSCHINES AGAINST
CTESIPHON, AND EXPLANATORY NOTES.

BY

MARTIN L. D'OOGE, PH. D., LL. D.,
PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

"Quid enim tam aut visendum aut audiendum fuit, quam summorum oratorum in gravissima causa accurata et inimicitiis incensa contentio?"

CIC. *de Opt. Gen. Orat.*

TWELFTH EDITION.



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MAIN

TO

JAMES R. BOISE, PH. D., LL.D.,

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,

THIS EDITION OF DEMOSTHENES DE CORONA IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED,
AS THE FRUIT OF STUDIES FIRST INSPIRED BY HIS ADMIRABLE
INSTRUCTION, AND AS A TRIBUTE OF RESPECT FOR
HIS EMINENT SERVICES IN THE CAUSE
OF CLASSICAL LEARNING.

P R E F A C E.

THE aim of the present edition of the *De Corona* is threefold: First, to present in the most concise form possible the latest results of study and criticism upon this masterpiece of Athenian oratory, especially as found in the best approved editions of the German scholars. Of all these editions Westermann's and Voemel's have been most freely consulted and used, particularly in points of historical and textual criticism. The text is that of Baiter and Sauppe's *Oratores Attici*, which follows most closely the reading of Σ, the oldest and best of the manuscripts. A few departures from this text are noticed as they occur.

A second aim of this edition is to lead the student to study the oration as a finished rhetorical and literary production. No encouragement is given to such as would make it mainly a vehicle for teaching grammar. The grammatical notes are, therefore, few, referring in the main only to the nature of conditional and to the structure of relative sentences. On the other hand, frequent attention is called to the rhetorical order of words, the emphasis of position, the use of metaphors, the rhythm of diction, and

kindred points in rhetoric. The opportunity for using illustrative material is exceedingly limited in an ordinary text-book ; but the editor hopes that the few specimens of illustration referred to in the Notes may stimulate a more general comparison of Demosthenes with other orators, both ancient and modern.

A third aim, quite akin to the second, is to enable the student to appreciate the oration as a skilful plea and a masterpiece of argumentation. To realize this aim it is essential that he have some acquaintance with the rival oration of Æschines. But in most of our colleges this oration is not read ; and the student reads a speech that was made as a rejoinder to one of which he has but the slightest, if any, knowledge. To meet this difficulty, in part at least, extracts from the oration of Æschines are appended at the foot of the text to illustrate those points which Demosthenes makes directly in reply to his opponent. The editor has found, upon repeated trial, that such a comparison, almost point for point, of the rival orations, gives new interest and value to the study of the *De Corona*. It has not been thought best to make any comments upon the Æschines, as it would be difficult to fix any limit here. Generally it will be found sufficient for the illustration of the text of Demosthenes, that the pupil simply read these extracts. To supplement them, and to enable the student to follow and compare the chain of argument of each orator throughout its entire length, a brief abstract of the speech of Æschines has been added in an Appendix. The course

of the argument of Demosthenes can be obtained from the divisions designated in the Notes. The student is recommended to write out for himself a full abstract of this oration. The editor allows himself one or two more suggestions. Let the pupil be required to notice carefully all the references to other parts of the oration, and so learn how certain expressions may often recur, and how the use of a word or phrase in one connection may explain its use in another. In a word, let the Notes be carefully *studied*. The student will find it greatly to his advantage to read, in preparation for the study of this oration, Chapters LXXXIX. and XC. of Grote's "History of Greece." It remains to be added, that, on account of the generally acknowledged spuriousness of the inserted documents, and their irrelevancy to the points under discussion, it has not been thought worth the while to write comments upon more than the first four,—a sufficient number from which to gain some idea of the internal evidence against their genuineness, and to illustrate peculiar and technical uses of words.

The Introduction is substantially taken from Anton Westermann's fourth edition.

While in the midst of my preparation there comes to hand Professor W. S. Tyler's excellent revision of the edition of Holmes. To both the original and the revising editor I have acknowledged repeated indebtedness for notes on the use and meaning of words. Besides the sources already named, my material has been drawn chiefly from

Whiston, Lord Brougham, Professor Larned, Reiske, Schaefer, Dissen, Bremer, Rehdantz, and from Arnold Schaefer's exhaustive work, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*. I am also under obligations to Professor J. H. Lipsius, of the University of Leipzig, for valuable lectures on this oration. My special thanks are due to my scholarly colleague, Professor Albert H. Pattengill, for valuable suggestions and critical assistance in preparing this work for the press.

I shall esteem it a favor if any one using this book shall call my attention to any error whatsoever.

M. L. D'OOGE.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, January, 1875.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD REVISED EDITION.

IN preparing this edition, references have been made to *Goodwin's New Grammar*, and many suggestions and corrections, kindly offered by teachers and students who have used the earlier editions, have been adopted.

To all who have thus aided me in presenting an improved book, I desire to express my sincere thanks.

M. L. D'OOGE.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, June, 1880.



INTRODUCTION.

THE news of the defeat at Chaeronea excited no small consternation at Athens. In the supposition that Philip would prosecute his victorious career and attack Athens itself, it was determined in all haste to place the city in a better state of defence. The unexpected clemency of Philip in his dealings with the Athenians, and the peace brought about soon after through the agency of Demades, interrupted, it seems, these hurried defensive preparations. But the importance of an extensive and thorough repair of the walls and fortifications had thus been made evident ; and before the close of the year 338 a proposal was successfully made by Demosthenes, without exciting opposition, as it appears, from the Macedonian party, that the building of the walls and defences be at once carried forward. The work was apportioned, as usual, by sections among the ten tribes, each of which elected a commissioner (*reixoroiós*), as administrator of the funds set apart by the state for this purpose, and as general overseer of the work.

The tribe of Pandionis elected Demosthenes to discharge this trust. Demosthenes expended from his own resources a hundred minas over and above the ten talents given him by the state for this object (cf. *Æsch. c. Ctes.*, §§ 23, 31 ; *Dem.* § 113, below). This, together with his generous donation to the Theoric Fund (cf. *Dem.* § 113, below), furnished Ctesiphon, his personal friend and supporter, with an opportunity to obtain a public recognition of the general as well as special merits of De-

mosthenes as a citizen and politician. Accordingly, Ctesiphon proposes, in 337 b. c., a decree that the state should honor Demosthenes with a golden crown, not only for these benefactions, "but also especially because he constantly says and does what is for the best interest of the people" (cf. *Æsch.* § 49); furthermore, that the herald should proclaim this crown in the theatre before the assembled Greeks, at the time of the great Dionysia.

The Macedonian faction saw in this proposal only a stroke of policy on the side of the Patriotic party, which party interests bade them thwart at all costs. When, therefore, the Senate brought this proposal, which appears to have passed this body without serious opposition, for confirmation before the Assembly, *Æschines* entered protest, and declared his purpose, under oath (cf. note, § 103, below), to bring a COMPLAINT FOR ILLEGALITY (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*) against the author of the proposal. The immediate sequence of this declaration was the suspension of the bill until this question should be decided. The complaint, according to *Æschines*, § 219, was formally brought prior to the death of Philip, which occurred in July, 336.

In the bill of indictment *Æschines* attacks the legality of the proposal (now a *προβούλευμα*) at two points: (1) that the statement contained therein, that Demosthenes constantly aims in his words and deeds at the best interests of the state, is false, and to insert a false statement in the public documents is forbidden by law (cf. *Æsch.* § 50); (2) that the proposed crowning was a violation of the existing laws in two respects, inasmuch as Demosthenes had not yet given account of the offices for which it was alleged he had deserved so well, and again in that the proclamation was to be made in the theatre at the great Dionysia.

It is plain that Ctesiphon is not the man against whom such a formidable attack must needs be directed. The real antagonist whom *Æschines* wishes to encounter is Demosthenes; the man who for so many years had defiantly opposed him, had

crossed and thwarted all his purposes, had compelled him to enter into a formal defence against a charge of treachery and misconduct in an embassy to Philip, had all along defended the common fatherland against the encroachments and schemes of Macedon ; and who, even when the unavoidable calamity had come, and Athens, in common with the other Greek states, had fallen under the Macedonian sway, had with unwearied strength and unfailing courage devoted himself wholly to the promotion of the welfare of the state. Now, when the influence of the Patriotic party was so greatly crippled by the disastrous result of the late struggle for independence, now was the favorable moment for crushing the hated rival and for annihilating his political existence. Such was the spirit in which *Æschines* undertook this prosecution. His oration against Ctesiphon is, in point of rhetorical finish, one of the masterpieces of ancient oratory, but in moral tone a detestable abortion, the fruit of blind and unbridled passion. In full measure he pours upon his opponent the accumulated and distilled poison of his party hatred ; every means is legitimate to assuage his thirst for revenge ; not one of the measures of Demosthenes — and he passes them all in review — finds mercy in his sight. Demosthenes, he charges, has crouched before Philip ; has received bribes from every quarter ; the unfortunate peace of Philocrates is of his doing ; to him the unhappy Phocians and Thebans owe their ruin ; in short, all the calamities that have befallen Greece lie at his door, — a caricature which, in its exaggeration, reproves and corrects itself. Thus challenged, Demosthenes cannot have hesitated to enter upon the contest. For, aside from the fact that he was the natural defender of Ctesiphon, and also that even under much less provocation it was not in the nature of an Athenian to let personal injuries go unresented, nothing could have seemed to him more desirable than this opportunity to vindicate publicly his entire political career. Indeed, to destroy the fabric of lies woven by *Æschines*, there was no need of such powerful elo-

quence as Demosthenes possessed ; there was, however, need of a character as pure and of as great moral dignity as was his to do this with certainty, with confidence in the good cause he espoused, and with success in the face of a credulous, fickle, and excitable populace.

To be sure, *his* oration also, perfect as it is in its structure, has its shadows. Such are the personal assaults upon Æschines, comments upon which are to be found in §§ 129, 258 ff. And here we may not pass by unnoticed the fact that Demosthenes does not always candidly and simply limit himself to the bare statement of facts, especially is this the case when he wishes to expose the weak points of his antagonist's policy or to conceal those of his own ; but, on the contrary, occasionally he gives to his representation a plausible and sophistical coloring. In this, however, he differs in no wise from all his contemporaries ; and, at all events, these sophisms, unjustifiable though they are when taken by themselves, employed in a good cause are not able to weaken at all the impression of truthfulness which the oration produces as a whole.

Unquestionably the weakest part of the defence lay in the answer to the technical and legal points that formed the basis of the indictment. Æschines was too wary a man to enter upon this contest without feeling sure of his ground in at least one respect. The peril of Demosthenes was really this ; that his opponent would argue solely the legal question in the case, and, arguing this successfully, would seriously implicate his political career and ruin his public reputation and influence. Had Æschines limited himself to the illegality of this proposal on the score of Demosthenes's accountability (cf. §§ 112, 119, and notes), there is every reason to believe that Ctesiphon would have been condemned, and Demosthenes would have remained uncrowned. But this did not satisfy the hatred of Æschines. Blinded by his passion for revenge, he weakened the force of his legal argument not only in connecting with it a second

technical question of exceedingly doubtful nature (that of the place of Proclamation), but also in concentrating the strength of his attack upon an examination of the public career of his opponent, in order to prove how unworthy he is in every point of view of the proposed distinction. Thus the legal question falls at once into the background ; it is no longer Ctesiphon, but Demosthenes, who is on trial. And Demosthenes does not fail to avail himself of the advantage that is thus offered him ; but, placing the legal points in the middle of his speech, to borrow the expression of the old critics, as a good general arranges his weakest troops in the centre of his line of battle, he devotes nearly all his efforts to the refutation of the personal reproaches and charges that were brought against himself.

The trial of this suit did not come off at once, but, according to various authorities (cf. *Aesch.* § 254 ; *Plut. Dem.*, § 24 ; *Cic. De opt. gen. orat.*, § 7), was postponed until the latter part of the summer of 330 b. c., a period of at least six years after the indictment was first brought. What occasioned this unparalleled delay is wholly unknown ; neither orator makes the slightest allusion to it. Had there been on either side any artful design in this postponement, the opposite party would doubtless have mentioned it in its own favor. The time for renewing the complaint and bringing it to trial was doubtless well chosen ; for Alexander's recent victories in the East, and the destruction of the Peloponnesian league by Antipater, the Macedonian general, must have newly elated the partisans of Macedon at Athens, and given *Aeschines* and his associates fresh hopes of success in their attack upon Demosthenes.

The fame of the trial and the reputation of the rival orators attracted strangers from all parts of the Hellenic world (cf. note on § 196). *Aeschines*, being the prosecutor, spoke first. If the usual custom was followed, Ctesiphon, as the defendant, made the first reply. What this was is unknown ; it was probably nothing more than a formal denial of the charge.

The case was closed with the speech of Demosthenes on the defence.

That we possess these orations in the exact form in which they were delivered, no one supposes. But to point out the changes that were introduced in their revision is largely a matter of conjecture. Some of them may at least be inferred in comparing the two orations; especially is this true of the speech of Æschines. Demosthenes, on the one hand, alludes to topics which his opponent has just treated (cf. §§ 95, 238), but which are not found in the oration of Æschines; while, again, the speech of Æschines contains quite a number of points for a reply to which we search Demosthenes in vain. It must not, of course, be expected that Demosthenes would discuss all the statements of his rival, point for point; a few charges in the great number may have escaped his notice, many deserved no attention, and the right to pass by such as were of minor importance was doubtless exercised. But that he should have left unanswered entire portions of the speech of Æschines, as, for example, that in which the latter depicts the last of the four periods into which he divides his rival's public career (cf. Abstract in Appendix), and have passed by in silence those scornful insinuations of Æschines in treating this period, not even noticing them so much as to say that their consideration was wholly irrelevant to the case, — this exceeds all probability.

These considerations lead to the suspicion that Æschines subsequently rewrote his speech, omitting in the revised edition what best suited his purpose (cf. note, § 95), and adding to it parts which in their full extent can no longer be definitely distinguished. This suspicion is fully confirmed in the case of two passages. One of the most common artifices of the ancient orators was the use of what is called *ὑποφορά* or *subjectio*, by which the arguments or illustrations of an opponent are anticipated either as a matter of conjecture or of report, and the attack or defence is thereby made more difficult. Æschines

makes frequent use of this rhetorical artifice ; but in two places, §§ 189, 225, the apparent artifice is really plagiarism. Upon comparing these two passages with § 319 and § 243 of Demosthenes (in which connection they are cited), we find the closest similarity. Now, all due allowance being made for what each orator may have heard in advance of the other's line of argument, through the discussions of their adherents and the reports of talebearers, to suppose that in such unessential and minute respects as the form of an illustration one orator should exactly anticipate the other, is most improbable, not to say impossible. It admits, therefore, of hardly a doubt that Æschines copied both the similes in the passages referred to from the speech of his rival after its publication. Demosthenes, it is believed, published his oration, if not word for word, certainly in substance, as he spoke it, soon after the trial was over ; Æschines, as it appears, published his somewhat later, taking advantage of the earlier publication of his opponent's speech. Could Demosthenes, when he published his own, have had before him the speech of Æschines in its *revised* form, we may suppose that his also would in some points have read differently.

The final issue of the trial makes some atonement for the malice to which it owes its origin. Æschines did not receive a fifth part of the votes, and was accordingly condemned to pay the fine established by law of one thousand drachmas, and to suffer inability ever again to institute a similar suit. His influence and reputation were destroyed ; and unable to endure the sight of the hated victor, he went to Rhodes into voluntary exile. It is related that here he read his speech against Ctesiphon ; and when his Rhodian audience expressed surprise that such a masterly oration should not have gained him the day, he gracefully remarked, " You would cease to wonder, if you had heard Demosthenes."

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ.



ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ.

ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

ΠΡΩΤΟΝ μέν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχόμαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, δόσην εὔνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῶν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἐπειθ' ὃ πέρ ἐστι μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐστεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν 2

ÆSCH. IN CTESIPH. 205. οὗτα δὴ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀξιώσατε ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμον πρῶτον καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον λέγω, ὡς οὐδὲ ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς. ἐὰν δ' ὑμῶν δέηται συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου, κατεπαγγελλόμενος, ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς ἀπολογίας λύσει τὸ παράνομον, μὴ συγχωρεῖτε, μηδὲ ἀγνοεῖθ', ὅτι πάλαι σμα τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δικαστηρίου· οὐ γάρ εἰσανθήσι ποτε βούλεται πρὸς τὸ παράνομον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔχων δίκαιον εἰπεῖν ἐτέρων παρεμβολῆ πραγμάτων εἰς λήθην ὑμᾶς βούλεται τῆς κατηγορίας ἐμβαλεῖν. 206. ὥσπερ

νῦμᾶς ἔμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γάρ ἀν εἴη τοῦτό γε) ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὄρκον, ἐν φὶ πρὸς ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται, τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῦν ἀκροάστασθαι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδέν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἵστην ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἔκαστος, ωὗτως ἔσται χρήστασθαι.

3 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τοντονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ', ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μεγάλα, ἐν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἵσων ἀγωνίζομαι· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἵσον νῦν ἔμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὔνοιας διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἐλεῶν τὴν γραφήν, ἀλλ' ἔμοὶ μέν — οὐ βούλομαι δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ. ἔτερον δ', ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ

οὖν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὄράτε τοὺς πύκτας περὶ τῆς στάσεως ἀλλήλοις διαγωνιζομένους, σῆτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως περὶ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου μάχεσθε, καὶ μὴ ἔτει αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ παρανόμου περίστασθαι, ἀλλ' ἔγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῇ ἀκροάσει εἰσελαύνετε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν τοῦ πράγματος λόγους, καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐπιτηρεῖτε.

241. "Αξιον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευτίαν αὐτῶν θεωρῆσαι. εἰ γάρ τολμήστε Κτητοίφων μὲν Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν λέξοντα εἰς νῦμᾶς, οὗτος δ' ἀναβὰς ἐαυτὸν ἔγκωμιάσει, βαρύτερον τῶν ἔργων ὡν πεπόνθατε τὸ ἀκρόμα γίγνεται. ὅπου γάρ δὴ τὸν

τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ'
αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι· τούτων τοίνυν ὁ μέν ἔστι πρὸς 4.
ἡδονήν, τούτῳ δέδοται, ὁ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν
ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί. κανὸν μὲν εὐλαβούμενος
τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν
ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδέν' ἐφ' θεὶς
ἄξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· εἳν δ' ἐφ' ἄ και πε-
ποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν
ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ. πειράσομαι μὲν
οὖν ὡς μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ὃ τι δ' ἀν τὸ
πρᾶγμα αὐτὸς ἀναγκάζῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οὗτός
ἔστι δίκαιος ἔχειν. ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐνστησά-
μενος.

Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς πάντας, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀν 5
δόμολογῆσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοὶ
καὶ Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπου-
δῆς ἐμοί· πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπη-
ρόν ἔστι καὶ χαλεπόν, ἄλλως τε κανὸν ὑπὸ ἔχθροῦ
τῷ τοῦτο συμβαίνῃ, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρὸν ὑμῶν 2.

μὲν ὅντως ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, οὓς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ σύνισμεν ἔργα,
εἳν τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπαίνους λέγωσιν, οὐ φέρομεν· ὅταν δὲ
ἄνθρωπος αἰσχύνη τῆς πόλεως γεγονὼς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζῃ, τίς ἀν
τὰ τουάντα καρτερήσειεν ἀκούων;

210. ὅλως δὲ τί τὰ δάκρυα; τίς ἡ κραυγὴ; τίς ὁ τόνος
τῆς φωνῆς; οὐχ ὁ μὲν τὴν γραφὴν φεύγων ἔστι Κτησιφῶν, ὁ
δὲ ἀγῶν οὐκ ἀτίμητος, σὺ δ' οὔτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας οὔτε περὶ τοῦ
σώματος οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζει; ἄλλὰ περὶ τίνος
ἔστιν αὐτῷ ἡ σπουδὴ; περὶ χρυσῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους.



εύνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσῳ περ καὶ τὸ τυχέων
 6 τούτων μέγιστόν ἐστιν. περὶ τούτων δ' ὅντος
 τουτοῦ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων
 δομοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαι μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορη-
 μένων ἀπολογούμενου δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι
 κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σόλων, εὔνους
 ὧν ὑμῶν καὶ δημοτικός, οὐ μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρί-
 ους φέτο δὲν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοὺς δικάζοντας
 7 ὁμωμοκέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς γ' ἔμοὶ φαί-
 νεται, ἀλλ' ὅρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολάς,
 αἵς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἵσχυει, οὐκ
 ἔνι τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων
 ἔκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν
 φυλάττων καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὕστερον δίκαια
 εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἵσον
 καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατήν, οὕτω τὴν διά-
 γνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ ἀπάντων.

8 Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἴδιου βίου παντός, ὡς ἔοικε,
 λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῆ πεπολιτευ-
 μένων, βούλομαι πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι,
 καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὑχομαι πρῶτον μέν, ὅσην
 εὔνοιαν ἔχω διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν
 ὑμῶν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι εἰς τουτοῦ τὸν ἀγῶ-
 να, ἐπειθ' ὃ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐδο-
 ξίαν κοινῆ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἔκάστῳ, τοῦτο
 παραστῆσαι πᾶσιν ὑμῶν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γρα-
 φῆς γνῶναι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἔδίωκε μόνον κατηγόρησεν
Αἰσχύνης, κάγὼ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος
εὐθὺς ἀν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω
λόγον τάλλα διεξιῶν ἀνήλωκε καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα
κατεψεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ
δίκαιον ἄμα βραχέα, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ⁹
τούτων εἰπεών πρῶτον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξω-
θεν λόγοις ἡγυμένος ἀλλοτριάτερον τῶν ὑπέρ τῆς
γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούῃ μου..

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἴδιων ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βε-¹⁰
βλασφήμηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἀπλᾶ καὶ
δίκαια λέγω. εἰ μὲν ἵστε με τοιοῦτον οἶνον οὗτος
γῆγάτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν),
μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ
ὑπέρευν πεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφί-
σασθε ηδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῷ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ ¹¹
βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων, ἵνα μηδὲν
ἐπαχθὲς λέγω, χείροινα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς
ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἄλλων πιστεύετε (δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἄπαντ'
ἐπλάττετο), ἐμοὶ δ', ἦν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον
εἴνοιαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρό-
τερον, καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. Υ κακοήθης δ' ὧν,¹²
Αἰσχύνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὔηθες φήθης, τοὺς περὶ¹³
τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους
ἀφέντα με πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέ-
ψεσθαι. οὐδὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο· οὐχ οὕτω τετύ-

φωμαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἄ
κατεψεύδον καὶ διέβαλλες, ἔξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομ-
πείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην γεγενημένης ὕστερον, ἀν-
βουλομένους ἀκούειν ἥ τουτοισί, μνησθήσομαι.

12 Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλά, καὶ περὶ ὧν
ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι διδόσαι
τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαιρεσις
αὐτῇ· ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὑβριν καὶ
λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ
τοιαῦτα, τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν
τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴ περ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ
13 πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδὲ ἐγγύς. οὐ γὰρ
ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ
λόγου τυχεῖν, οὐδὲ ἐν ἐπηρείᾳ τάξει καὶ φθόνου
τοῦτο ποιεῖν· οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὅρθως ἔχον
οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιον ἔστιν, ω̄ ἀνδρες Ἀθη-
ναῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά με ἔώρα τὴν πόλιν,
οὖσί γε τηλικούτοις ἡλίκα νῦν ἐτραγώδει καὶ
διεξήει, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ
τάδικήματα χρῆσθαι, εἴ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια
πράττοντά με ἔώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα καὶ τοῦτον
τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρίσιν καθιστάντα παρ' ὑμῖν, εἴ
δὲ γράφοντα παράνομα, παρανόμων γραφόμενον·
οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν
δι' ἐμέ, ἐμὲ δέ, εἴ περ ἐξελέγχειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν
14 οὐκ ἀν ἐγράψατο· καὶ μὴν εἴ τι τῶν ἀλλων ὧν
νυνὶ διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήει ἥ καὶ ἄλλ' ὅτιον ἀδι-

κοῦντά με ὑμᾶς ἔώρα, εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν ἄπασι χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὅπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς ἐμέ, ὡμολογεῖτο ἀνὴρ κατηγορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. νῦν δὲ ἐκστὰς τῆς ὁρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ ¹⁵ καὶ φυγὼν τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσούτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμφορήσας ὑποκρίνεται. εἴτα κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τοιτούν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθραν προΐσταται, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντηκώς ἐμοὶ τὴν ἐτέρους ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι φαίνεται. καίτοι ¹⁶ πρὸς ἄπασιν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως ἀν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ὑμᾶς ἐφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἄλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἐτέρῳ δὲ ὅτῳ κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γάρ ἀδικίας τοῦτο γε.

Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως ἐκ ¹⁷ τούτων ἀν τις ἴδοι οὕτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας

54. Περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων πειράσομαι σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν Δημοσθένην, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ἀποδοθῇ, καταριθμεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἄρα τῇ πόλει τέτταρες ἥδη γεγένηνται καροὶ, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται.

ούδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα· βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἐν ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ἔξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ πεπραγμένα ἔαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί. ἔστι δ' ἀναγκαῖον, ω̄ς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ προσῆκον ἵσως, ω̄ς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ἀναμνῆσαι, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν ἔκαστα θεωρῆτε.

18 Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἔμε (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε ὡστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποι-

ῶν ἔνα μὲν καὶ πρῶτον, ω̄ς ἔγωγε ἀκούω, καταλογίζεται ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, ἐν φ πρὸς Φιλίππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιτόλεως ἐπολεμοῦμεν· τοῦτον δ' ἀφορίζεται τῇ γενομένῃ εἰρήνῃ καὶ συμμαχίᾳ, ἣν Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος μετ' ἐκείνου, ω̄ς ἔγω δείξω. 55. δεύτερον δέ φησι γενέσθαι ὃν ἥγομεν χρόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, δηλονότι μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ἐν ἥ καταλύσας τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ῥήτωρ ἔγραψε τὸν πόλεμον· τρίτον δὲ ὃν ἐπολεμοῦμεν χρόνον μέχρι τῆς ἀποχίας τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνεἴᾳ, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν νῦν παρόντα καιρὸν. 60. εἴ τινες ὑμῶν ἔκ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν χρόνων ἥκουσιν οἶκοθεν τουαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ω̄ς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν πώποτε εἴρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου συστὰς μετὰ Φιλοκράτους, — οἵτις οὕτω διάκειται, μήτ' ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν μήτε καταγνώτω, πρὶν ἀν ἀκούσῃ· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον. ἀλλ' ἔαν ἐμοῦ διὰ βραχέων ἀκούσῃτε ὑπομημήσκοντος τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα παρεχομένου, ὁ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἔγραψε Δημοσθένης, ἔαν αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λογισμὸς ἔγκαταλαμβάνῃ τὸν Δημοσθένην πλείω μὲν γεγραφότα ψηφίσματα Φιλοκράτους περὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας,

οῦντας ὄρῶντες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὅτιοῦν ἀν ἔφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· οἵ γὰρ εὔτυχήκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις, οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρηντο· ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστήκει, καὶ οὐθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὗτως ἵσχυον ὥστε ἀνελεῦν αὐτούς, οὐθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' ἔκείνων ἀρχοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλά τις ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔρις καὶ ταραχὴ· ταῦτα ¹⁹ δ' ὄρῶν ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ) τοῖς παρ' ἑκάστοις προδόταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων πάντας συνέκρουε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττεν· εἰτ' ἐν οἷς ἥμάρτανον ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἔφρόνουν, αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. ὡς δὲ ταλαιπωρούμενοι τῷ μῆκει τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκασθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, Φίλιππος, ὡς μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο. τί οὖν συνηγωνίσατο αὐτῷ πρὸς ²⁰ τὸ λαβεῖν ὄλιγουν δεῦν ὑμᾶς ἐκόντας ἐξαπατωμένους; ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε χρὴ κακίαν εἴτ' ἄγνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερά ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν, οἱ πόλεμον συνεχῆ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμούντων ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ φανερὸν γέγονεν, οὕτε χρήμασιν οὕτε σώμασιν οὕτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων συνελάμβανον

νῦμιν· οῖς καὶ δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὀργιζόμενοι ἔτοίμως ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη διὰ ταῦτ', οὐδὲν δ' ἐμέ, ὡς οὗτος διέβαλλεν, ἐπράχθη· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκήματα ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν τινὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἃν τις ἔξετάζῃ δικαίως,
²¹ αἴτια εὑρήσει· καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ εἶναι τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τούτοις ἀδίκημα, οὐδέν ἔστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρώτος εἰπὼν καὶ μηησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀριστό-

62. Ἐγραψε Φιλοκράτης ἔξεναι Φιλίππῳ δεῦρο κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν περὶ εἰρήνης· τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραφη παρανόμων. ἥκον οἱ τῆς κρίσεως χρόνοι· κατηγόρει μὲν Δυκίνος ὁ γραψάμενος, ἀπελογεῖτο δὲ Φιλοκράτης, συναπελογεῖτο δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης· ἀπέφυγε Φιλοκράτης. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπήγειρος θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων· ἐνταῦθ' εἰσέρχεται βουλευτὴς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Δημοσθένης, οὔτε λαχῶν οὐτ' ἐπιλαχῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς πριάμενος, ἵν' εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἀπαντα καὶ λέγοι καὶ πράττοι Φιλοκράτει, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔδειξε τὸ ἔργον. 63. νικᾷ γὰρ ἔτερον ψήφισμα Φιλοκράτης, ἐν ᾧ κελεύει ἐλέσθαι δέκα πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς Φιλίππου ἀξιώσουσιν αὐτὸν δεῦρο πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορας πέμπειν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης. Τούτων εἰς ἥν Δημοσθένης. Κάκεύθεν ἐπανήκων ἐπαινέτης ἥν τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσιν ἀπήγγειλε, καὶ μόνος τῶν βουλευτῶν ἔγραψε σπείσασθαι τῷ κήρυκι τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν, ἀκόλουθα γράφων Φιλοκράτει· ὁ μέν γε τὴν ἔξουσίαν ἔδωκε τοῦ δεῦρο κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπεσθαι, ὁ δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ σπένδεται. 64. Τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἥδη σφόδρα μοι τὸν νοῦν προσέχετε. Ἐπράττετο γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις τοὺς πολλὰ συκοφαντηθέντας

δημος ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἔαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σός, Αἰσχύνη, κοιωνός, οὐχ ὁ ἐμός, οὐδὲ ἀν σὺ διαρραγῆς ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες ὅτου δήποτε ἔνεκα (ἔω γὰρ τοῦτο γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι) Εὐβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ. ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκεν ἀναιδείας, ὡστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης αἴτιος γεγενήσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκώς εἴην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταύτην ποιή-

ἵστερον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Φιλοκράτην καὶ Δημοσθένην, εἰκότως, τοὺς ἄμα μὲν πρεσβεύοντας, ἄμα δὲ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφοντας, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως μὴ περιμείνητε τοὺς πρέσβεις οὓς ἡτε ἐκπεπομφότες παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φιλιππον, ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἴδιᾳ ποιήσησθε τὴν εἰρήνην. 68. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἥκον οἱ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ἀπεδήμουν παρακαλοῦντες τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπὶ Φιλιππον. Ἐνταῦθ' ἔτερον ψήφισμα νικᾷ Δημοσθένης, ἐν φ' γράφει μὴ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίας ὑμᾶς βουλεύσασθαι, μὴ περιμείναντας τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ὑμετέρους. 72. Οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν (καὶ γὰρ τὸ ρῆμα μέμνημαι ὡς εἶπε, διὰ τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἄμα καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος), ἀπορρήξαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν, οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμένειν μελλήματα, ἀλλ' ἡ πολεμεῖν αὐτὸνς ἡ τὴν εἰρήνην ἴδιᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρακαλέσας Ἀντίπατρον ἐρώτημά τι ἤρωτα, προειπὼν μὲν ἂ ἐρήσεται, προδιδάξας δὲ ἂ χρὴ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποκρίνασθαι. Καὶ τέλος ταῦτ' ἐνίκα, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προβιασαμένου Δημοσθένους, τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα γράψαντος Φιλοκράτους.

σασθαι. εἰτ' ὁ — τί ἀν εἰπών σέ τις ὄρθως προσείποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρών, τηλικαύτην πρᾶξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἡλίκην τυνὶ διεξήεις, ὁρῶν ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως ἥγανάκτησας ἢ παρέλθων ταῦτα ἂν τυνὶ κατηγορεῖς ἐδίδαξας καὶ
 23 διεξῆλθες; καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κουιωνίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππω, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοῶν καὶ διαμαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τουτοισί. οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίησας οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἡκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν οὐδείς· οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένα ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάλαι πάντες ἥσαν ἐξεληλεγμένοι, οὐθ' οὗτος ὑγιὲς περὶ²⁴ τούτων εἴρηκεν οὐδέν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται· εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἀμα τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας εἰς πόλεμον παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς εἱρήνης πρέσβεις ἐπέμπετε, Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα, οὐ πόλεως ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν· τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἀν αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ; ἐπὶ τὴν εἱρήνην; ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν ἄπασιν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἱρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε. Οὐκονν οὔτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἱρήνης ἥγεμὸν οὐδ' αἴτιος ὃν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ὃν κατεψεύσατό μου οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς δν δείκνυται. <

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ πόλις, 25
 ἐνταῦθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἐκάτερος προ-
 εῖλετο πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε^{τίς} ἦν ὁ Φιλίππω πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ
 πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον
 ζητῶν. ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν (ἔγραψα βουλεύων) ἀπο-
 πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς τό-
 πους, ἐν οἷς ἀν ὅντα Φίλιππον πυνθάνωνται, καὶ
 τοὺς ὄρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν· οὗτοι δὲ οὐδὲ γρά-
 ψαντος ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῦν ἥθελησαν. τί δὲ τοῦτ'²⁶
 ἥδυνατο, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; ἐγὼ διδάξω. Φι-
 λίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον ὡς πλεῖστον τὸν μεταξὺ
 χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὄρκων, ὑμῖν δ' ὡς ἐλάχι-
 στον. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀφ' ἧς ὡμόσατε
 ἥμέρας μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡλπίσατε τὴν εἰρήνην
 ἔσεσθαι, πάσας ἔξελύσατε τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς
 τοῦ πολέμου, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου
 μάλιστα ἐπραγματεύετο, νομίζων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀλη-
 θές, ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς
 ὄρκους ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἔξειν.
 οὐδένα γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην λύσειν τούτων ἔνεκα.
 ἀ ἐγὼ προορώμενος, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λογι-²⁷
 ζόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς
 τόπους ἐν οἷς ἀν ἦ Φίλιππος, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους τὴν

82. οὗτος ἐστιν, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ πρῶτος ἔξευρῶν Σέρριον τεῖχος
 καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μυρτίσκην καὶ Γάνι-
 δα, χωρία, ὃν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἔδειμεν πρότερον.

ταχίστην ἀπολαμβάνειν, ἵν' ἔχόντων τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων, ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ἂν νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τὸ Σέρριον καὶ τὸ Μυρτηνὸν καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην, οὕτω γίγνονται οἱ ὄρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων, κύριος τῆς Θρᾳκῆς κατασταίη, μηδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων πολλῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας ἐκ τούτων ῥᾳδίως τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπιχειρούῃ πράγματα.
 28 σιν. εἴτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα, οὐδ' ἀναγιγνώσκει· εἰ δὲ βουλεύων ἔγω προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ὅμην δεῖν, τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; μὴ προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἡκοντας, ἵν' ὑμῶν διαλεχθῶσιν; ἡ θέαν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτοῖς κελεῦσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὁβολοῦν ἐθεώρουν ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, πεπρακέναι; οὐ δήπου. Λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβών, ὃ σαφῶς οὗτος εἰδὼς παρέβη. λέγε.

76. Υπόλοιπον δέ μοί ἔστι τὴν κολακείαν αὐτοῦ διεξελθεῖν. Δημοσθένης γὰρ ἐνιαυτὸν βουλεύσας οὐδεμίαν πώποτε φανεῖται πρεσβείαν εἰς προεδρίαν καλέσας, ἀλλὰ τότε μόνον καὶ πρῶτον πρέσβεις εἰς προεδρίαν ἐκάλεσε καὶ προσκεφάλαια ἔθηκε καὶ φουνικίδας περιεπέτασε καὶ ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἤγειτο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ὥστε καὶ συρίττεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην καὶ κολακείαν. καὶ ὅτ' ἀπῆσαν, ἐμισθώσατο αὐτοῖς τρία ζεύγη ὄρικα καὶ προύπεμψεν εἰς Θήβας, καταγέλαστον τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

30

[Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Μιησιφίλου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἐνη καὶ νέᾳ, φυ- 29
 λῆς πρυτανευούστης Πανδιονίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παι-
 ανιεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς
 εἰρήνης ὁμολογουμένας πεποίηται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ
 καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἀν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ ἡ
 ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι ἐκ
 πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἥδη πέντε, τοὺς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας ἀποδημεῖν
 μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἀν ὄντα πυκνωταὶ τὸν
 Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λαβεῖν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦναι τὴν
 ταχίστην ἐπὶ ταῖς ὡμολογημέναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθη-
 ναίων δῆμον, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἑκατέρων συμμάχους.
 πρέσβεις ἥρεθησαν Εὔβουλος Ἀναφλύστιος, Αἰσχύνης Κοθωκίδης,
 Κηφισοφῶν Ραμνούστιος, Δημοκράτης Φλινεύς, Κλέων Κοθωκίδης.]

Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε, καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει 30
 συμφέρον, οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φρον-
 τίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθῆντο ἐν
 Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς ὄλους μῆνας, ἔως ἡλθε Φίλιππος
 ἐκ Θράκης πάντα καταστρεψάμενος, ἐξὸν ἡμερῶν
 δέκα, μᾶλλον δὲ τριῶν ἡ τεττάρων, εἰς τὸν Ἑλλή-
 σποντον ἀφίχθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι, λαβόντας
 τοὺς ὄρκους πρὸν ἐκείνον ἔξελειν αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ
 ἀν ἦψατ' αὐτῶν παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἡ οὐκ ἀν ὥρκύ-
 ζομεν αὐτόν, ὡστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἀν διημαρτήκει
 καὶ οὐκ ἀν ἀμφότερα εἶχε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ
 τὰ χωρία.

Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα 31
 μὲν Φιλίππου δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων

ἀνθρώπων τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὖ καὶ τότε
καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ὁμολογῶ καὶ πφλεμεῖν καὶ δια-
φέρεσθαι τούτοις· ἔτερον δ' εὐθὺς ἐφεξῆς ἔτι
32 τούτου μεῖζον κακούργημα θεάσασθε. ἐπειδὴ
γὰρ ὥμοσε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος προλαβὼν
τὴν Θράκην διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ
ψηφίσματι, πάλιν ὡνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ
ἀπίωμεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας
τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέας εὑτρεπῇ ποιήσαιτο, ἵνα μῆ,
δεῦρ' ἀπαγγειλάντων ἡμῶν ὅτι μέλλει καὶ παρα-
σκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξέλθοιτε ὑμεῖς καὶ περι-
πλεύσαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν εἰς Πύλας ὥσπερ πρό-
τερον κλείσαιτε τὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἅμ' ἀκούοιτε
ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν κάκεῖνος ἐντὸς εἴη
33 Πυλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. Γοῦτω δ'
ἥν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ μὴ
καὶ ταῦτα προειληφότος αὐτοῦ, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς
Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν, ἐκφύγοι
τὰ πράγματ' αὐτόν, ὥστε μισθοῦται τὸν κατάπτυ-
στον τουτονί, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέ-
σβεων ἀλλ' ἴδιᾳ καθ' αὐτόν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς
εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὃν ἀπαντ' ἀπώλετο.
34 ἀξιῶ δέ, ὃ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι τοῦτο
μεμνῆσθαι παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατη-
γορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οὐδ'
ἄν ἔγὼ λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιούμην ἔτερον, πάσαις
δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις ἄμα τούτου κεχρη-

μένου ἀνάγκη κάμοὶ πρὸς ἔκαστα τῶν κατηγορούμένων μικρὰ ἀποκρίνασθαι. τίνες οὖν ἡσαν οἱ 35 παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ρήθεντες, καὶ δι' οὓς ἄπαντ' ἀπώλετο; ὡς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φιλίππον εἴσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ἄπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῦν ἡ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἔχθρὸς ἦκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγενημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος, τούναντίον ἔχθρον. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ρήματα τὰς οἰκειότητας ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἄπασι τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων. ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἡκουον 36 αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσταν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι; τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. ὅτι δ' οὗτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε 37 τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ταῦθ' ἄπανθ' ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Μηνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν καὶ πρυτάνεων, καὶ βουλῆς γνώμῃ, μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτη ἀπιόντος, Καλλισθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε, μηδένα Ἀθηναίων μηδεμιὰ παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιῇ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγμένοι· τούτων δὲ ἔκαστους, ἣν παρέλαβον τάξιν, διατηρεῖν μήτε 38 ἀφημερεύοντας μήτε ἀποκοιτοῦντας. ὃς ἂν δὲ ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίοις, ἐὰν μὴ τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνύη περὶ ἑαυτόν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι εἰς ἄστυ καὶ Πειραιᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἀφιδναν καὶ Ραμνοῦντα καὶ Σούνιον.]

"Ἄρ" ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε, ἡ ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός;
39 Δέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔπειμψε Φίλιππος μετὰ ταῦτα.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ χαίρειν. ἵστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἰσα Πυλῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένους, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐκουσίως προσετίθετο τῶν πολιτισμάτων, φρουρὶς εἰσαγγοχότας εἰς αὐτά, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες καὶ ἔξανδρα ποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὡμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθὲν αὐτοῖς γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ πλεῖστον ἐνοχλήσῃ περὶ τούτων· τοῖς μὲν γάρ ὅλοις οὐδὲ μέτριον μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα

οὐδὲ συμπειειλημμένων τῶν Φωκέων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. ὥστε ἔὰν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὠμολογημένοις, οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθακέναι ἀδικοῦντες.]

’Ακούετε ὡς σαφῶς δῆλοι καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ 40 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους ὅτι “ ἔγὼ ταῦτα πεποίηκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ λυπουμένων, ὡστ’ εἴ περ εὐ φρονεῖτε, ὁ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοί, τούτους μὲν ἐχθροὺς ὑπολήψεσθε, ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε,” οὐ τούτοις τοῖς ρήμασι γράψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων ὥχετο ἐκείνους λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μηδ’ ὅτι οὖν προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μηδ’ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἔσαι πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐκεῖνον ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι· ἔξ ὀν ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς οἱ ταλαιπωροὶ κέχρηνται. ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πί- 41 στεως αὐτῷ συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστὴς καὶ ὁ δεῦρ’ ἀπαγγείλας τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φενακίσας ὑμᾶς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων ὁδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη καὶ διεξιὰν ὡς οἰκτρά, καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν

133. Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι, πύλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ’ ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, περὶ τῶν ὅλων οὐκ ὄρθως βουλευεισάμενοι, ἀλλὰ τήν γε θεοβλάβειαν καὶ τὴν ἀφροσύνην οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως, ἀλλὰ δαιμονίως κτησάμενοι.
 156. μηδ’ ὑπομιμήσκετε τῶν ἀνιάτων καὶ ἀνηκέστων κακῶν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Θηβαίους, οὓς φυγόντας διὰ τούτον ὑποδέδεχθε τῇ πόλει, ὃν ἱερὰ καὶ τέκνα καὶ τάφους ἀπώλεσεν ἡ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκία καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον· 157. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τοῖς σώμασιν οὐ παρεγένεσθε, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε διανυίαις ἀποβλέψατ’ αὐ-

Φωκεῦσι κακῶν. καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα πεπόνθασιν οἱ Ἑλληνες ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ὁν αἴτιος. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Αἰσχύνη, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς, κτῆμ' ἔχων ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω, ὃς εὐθὺς ἐξῆγούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα πράξαντος.

42 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους, οὓς αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἵσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν. ἐπάνειμι δὴ πάλια ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις, ώς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἴτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθωσάντων ἕαντοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῶν ἀπαγγειλάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνήρηντο αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν, τί ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλοιν εὐεργέτην σωτῆρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἤγουντο· πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἥκουν, εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιτο λέγειν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ

τῶν εἰς τὰς συμφορὰς, καὶ νομίσαθεν ὄρâν ἀλισκομένην τὴν πόλιν, τειχῶν κατασκαφὰς, ἐμπρήστεις οἰκιῶν, ἀγομένας γυναικας καὶ παιδες εἰς δουλείαν, πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους, πρεσβύτιδας γυναικας, ὃψὲ μεταμανθάνοντας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κλαιίοντας, ἰκετεύοντας ὑμᾶς, ὀργιζομένους οὐ τοῖς τιμωρουμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τούτων αἰτίοις, ἐπισκήπτοντας μηδὲν τρόπῳ τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον στεφανοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν συμπαρακολουθοῦσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ φυλάξασθαι.

δυσχεραίνοντες ἦγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὅμως· οὐ γὰρ
 ἦν ὁ τι ἀν ἐποιεῖτε. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἕλληνες,
 ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πεφενακισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες
 ὅν ἥλπισαν, ἥγον τὴν εἰρήνην, αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ
 ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι. Υἱότε γὰρ περιὶ Ἀθηναῖς 44
 ποσ Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλούς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων^{κατεστρέφετο}, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ
 μεγάλας ἐποιεῦθ' ὑφ' ἔαυτῷ, καί τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν
 πόλεων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες
 ἐκεῖσε διεφθείροντο, ὃν εἰς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάν-
 τες, ἐφ' οὓς ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετ^τ ἐκεῖνος, ἐπο-
 λεμοῦντο. εἰ δὲ μὴ γράμματο, ἔτερος ὁ λόγος
 οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προῦλεγον καὶ 45
 διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμ-
 φθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσουν τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ
 πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν^ν δωροδοκούντων καὶ
 διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ
 πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμένων, τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ'
 ἡμέραν ῥάστων^η καὶ σχολῆ δελεαζομένων, καὶ
 τοιουτονί τι πάθος πεπονθότων ἀπάντων, πλὴν
 οὐκέ^τ ἐφ' ἔαυτοὺς ἕκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν
 ἥξειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἑτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἔαυτῶν
 ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν, ὅταν βούλωνται. εἴτ^ε οὖμαι 46
 συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς
 καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥάθυμίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλεκέ-
 ναι, τοῖς δὲ προεστηκόσι καὶ τάλλα πλὴν ἔαυ-
 τοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν πρώτους ἔαυτοὺς πεπρα-

κόσιν αἰσθέσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἂ τότε ὀνομάζοντο ἡνίκα ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς ἔχθροὶ καὶ τάλλ’ ἄ προσήκει πάντ’ 47 ἀκούονται. οὐδεὶς γάρ, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ προδιδόντος συμφέροντος ζητῶν χρήματ’ ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ’ ἐπειδὴν ὅν ἀν πρίηται κύριος γένηται, τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρῆται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀν ἦν εὐδαιμονέστερον προδότου. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατήσ ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν καταστῆ, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων δεσπότης ἔστι, τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν εἰδώς, τότε δή, τότε καὶ μισεῖ καὶ ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προπητείαν 48 λακίζει. σκοπεῖτε δέ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρελήλυθεν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων καιρός, ὁ τοῦ γε εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καιρὸς ἀεὶ πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν. μέχρι τούτου Λασθένης φίλος ὀνομάζετο, ἔως προῦδωκεν Ὁλυνθον· μέχρι τούτου Τιμόλαος, ἔως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου Εὔδικος καὶ Σύμος ὁ Λαρισαῖος, ἔως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππων ἐποίησαν. εἴτ’ ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβριζομένων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ γέγονεν. τί δ’ Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Σικυῶνι, 49 καὶ τί Περίλαος ἐν Μεγάροις; οὐκ ἀπερριμμένοι; ἐξ ὅν καὶ σαφέστατ’ ἀν τις ἵδοι ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πλεῖστα ἀντιλέγων τούτοις, οὗτος ὑμῶν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῖς

προδιδοῦσι καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δωροδοκήσετε περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τουτωνὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλήμασιν ὑμεῖς ἔστε σῷοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διά γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἀν ἀπολώλειτε.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι 50 πολλὰ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἴκανῶν εἰρῆσθαι· αἴτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἑωλοκρασίαν τινά μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατασκεδάσας, ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι. παρηγόρχλησθε δὲ ἵσως, οἱ καὶ πρὶν ἔμε εἰπεῖν ὅτιον εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότε μισθαρνίαν. καί 51 τοι φιλίαν γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἰπέ που λέγων “ὅ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί.” ἐγώ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου; πόθεν λαβόντι ἡ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον οὔτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον εἴποιμ' ἀν ἐγώ σε, οὐχ οὕτω μαίνομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θεριστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας φίλους καὶ ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. ἀλλ' οὐκ 52 ἔστι ταῦτα πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγώ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλῶ, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες. εἰ δ' ἀπι-

66. ὁ γὰρ μισθωτός τονὶ φάσκων εἶναι καὶ τότε μισθωτός Δημοσθένης, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, γράφει ψήφισμα.

στεῖς, ἔρωτησον αὐτούς. μᾶλλον δ' ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. πότερον ὑμῶν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς Αἰσχίνης ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου; ἀκούεις ἂ λέγουσιν.

53 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ηδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἔμαυτῷ, ἵνα καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ὅμως ἀκούσῃ δι' ἣ φημι καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων καὶ πολλῷ μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων δωρεῶν δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. Καί μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.

ΓΡΑΦΗ.

54 Γέπι Χαιρώνδον ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἔκτη ἰσταμένου, Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα παρανόμων κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλυστίου, ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγῳδοῖς κανοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῖ δὲ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἡς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἀν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, 55 πάντα ταῦτα φευδῆ γράψας καὶ παράνομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἔώντων πρῶτον μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἴτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν (ἴστι Δημοσθένης τειχοποίος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τεταγμένος), ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ

ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πυκνὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τίμημα τάλαντα πεντήκοντα. κλήτορες Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶντος Ῥαμνούσιος, Κλέων Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.]

“Α μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτ’ ἔστιν. ἐγὼ δ’ αὐτὸν τούτων πρῶτον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσειν ὅτι πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν περὶ πάντων ἔρω καθ’ ἔκαστον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκῶν παραλείψω. τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με τῷ δήμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὃ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὑρεθήσεται εἴτε ἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα “ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῶ” στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν

II. κατιδῶν δέ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχοντα, τὸν διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύοντα τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν. καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως εὖ προκατεληφότος τοῦ νομοθέτου εὑρηται κρείττονες λόγοι τῶν νόμων, οἷς εἰ μή τις ὅμιν ἔρει, λήσετε ἐξαπατηθέντες. τούτων γάρ τινες τῶν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους στεφανούντων παρὰ τοὺς νόμους οἱ μὲν φύσει μέτριοι εἰσιν, εἰ δή τις ἔστι μέτριος τῶν τὰ παράνομα γραφόντων· ἀλλ’ οὖν προβάλλονται γε τι πρὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης. προσεγγράφουσι γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ψηφίσματα στεφανοῦν τὸν ὑπευθύνον, ἐπειδὰν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῶ. 12. καὶ ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸ ἵσον ἀδίκημα ἀδικεῖ-

στέφανον κελεῦσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῦς πεπολιτευμένους, εἴτε ἄξιός εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις εἴτε καὶ μή, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τὸν νόμους δεικτέον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἔξην τούτῳ. οὗτωσὶ μέν, ὁ Ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαίως καὶ ἀπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἔγνωκα ποιεῖσθαι, βαδιοῦ-
 59 μαι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἀ πέπρακταί μοι. καί με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, ἐὰν εἰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ διώκων τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστά με καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκώς. εἶτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὖσῶν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἰλόμην ἔγω, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιος εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι.
 60 Ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῦν ἐμὲ προῦλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἐάσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἀ δ'

ται· προκαταλαμβάνονται γὰρ ἐπαίνους καὶ στεφάνους αἱ εὐθυναι· ὁ δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα γράφων ἐνδείκνυται τοῖς ἀκούοντιν, ὅτι γέγραφε μὲν παράνομα, αἰσχύνεται δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἡμάρτηκε. Κτησιφῶν δέ, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπερπηδήσις τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων κείμενον καὶ τὴν πρόφασιν, ἣν ἔγω ἀρτίως προεῖπον ὑμῖν, ἀνελών, πρὶν λόγον, πρὶν εὐθύνας δοῦναι, γέγραφε μεταξὺ Δημοσθένην ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν.

ἀφ' ἣς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην ἔγώ καὶ διεκαλύθη, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών. πλεονέκτημα, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς ⁶¹ "Ελλησιν, οὐ τισὶν ἀλλ' ἅπασιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θερίσις ἔχθρων ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι τοσαύτην, ὅσην οὐδείς πω πρότερον μέμηται γεγονυῖαν· οὖς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ συνεργοὺς λαβὼν καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς "Ελληνας ἔχοντας πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε, τοὺς μὲν ἔξαπατῶν, τοὺς δὲ διδούς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρων, καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ ἔνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκεῖνον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων Ἀλλήνων ὄντων δεῖ σκοπεῦν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσῆκουν ἦν ἐλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιεῦν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν· ὃ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἰμὶ ἔγώ. πό- ⁶² τερον αὐτὴν ἔχρην, Αἰσχίνη, τὸ φρόνημα ἀφεῖσαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει σθόκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν τῶν Ἀλλήνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῦν, δεινὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἢ δ' ἐώρα συμβησόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς κωλύσει, καὶ προησθάνεθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ πολλοῦ,

64 ταῦτα περιιδεῖν γιγνόμενα; ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡδέως ἀν ἔροιμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐβούλετ' αὖ, πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἑλλησι κακῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν, ἢς ἀν Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις, ἢ τῆς περιεωρακύιας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἴδιας πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι, ἢς ἀν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνοὺς καὶ Ἀργείους θείημεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἀπηλλάχασιν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος ὥχετ' εὐθέως ἀπιὼν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἤγειν ἡσυχίαν, μῆτε τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων μῆτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα μηδὲν λυπήσας, ἢν αὖ τις κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς ἐπραττεῖν ἐκεῖνος μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία· εἰ δὲ ὅμοιώς ἀπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὴν ἤγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ὃσων ἡδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἀπάντων ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς ἐβουλεύσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες;

66 'Αλλ' ἐκεῖστε ἐπανέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχίνη, προσῆκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον; ἢ τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν, τὸν Ἀθήνησι (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλεῖστον διαφέρει), ὃς συνῆδειν μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφ' ἢς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀν-

βην, ἀεὶ περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀνηλωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πάσι συμφερόντων ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνηλώκασιν ἔκαστοι, ἐώρων δ' αὐτὸν τὸν 67 Φίλιππον, πρὸς διν ἥν ἥμῶν ὁ ἀγών, ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηραμένον, πᾶν ὁ τι βουληθείη μέρος ἡ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελέσθαι, τοῦτο προϊέμενον, ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν; / καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ 68 τοῦτό γε οὐδεὶς ἀν εἰπεῖν τολμήσαι, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι, χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ τότε γε ὅντι καὶ μικρῷ, τοσαύτην μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν ἐγγενέσθαι, ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι, ὑμῶν δ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἔκάστην ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν πργόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα θεωροῦσι τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξαι, ὥστε τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελοντὰς παραχωρῆσαι Φιλίππῳ. οὐδ' ἀν εἴς ταῦτα φήσειεν. λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἥν καὶ ἀναγ- 69 καίον ἀμα πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐπραττεν ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως. τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, εἰκότως καὶ προσηκόντως, ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ συνεβούλευον καὶ ἐγὼ καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτευόμην χρόνους. ὁμολογῶ. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με

ποιεῦν ; ἡδη γάρ σ' ἐρωτῶ, πάντα τᾶλλ' ἀφείς,
 Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτίδαιαν, Ἀλόννησον· οὐ
 70 δενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι· Σέρριον δὲ καὶ Δορίσκον
 καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα ἡ
 πόλις ἤδικεντο, οὐδέ εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα. καίτοι σύ
 γ' ἔφησθά με ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς ἔχθραν ἐμβαλεῖν
 τουτουσί, Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος καὶ Διο-
 πείθους τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων,
 οὐκ ἐμῶν, ὃ λέγων εὐχερώς ὅ τι ἀν βουληθῆται.
 71 οὐδὲ νῦν περὶ τούτων ἔρω. ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν Εὐβοιαν
 ἐκεῖνος σφετεριζόμενος καὶ κατασκευάζων ἐπι-
 τεύχισμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιχει-
 ρῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων Ὁρεόν, καὶ κατασκάπτων
 Πορθμόν, καὶ καθιστὰς ἐν μὲν Ὁρεῷ Φιλιστίδην
 τύραννον ἐν δ' Ἐρετρίᾳ Κλείταρχον, καὶ τὸν Ἐλ-
 λήσποντον ὑφ' ἔαυτῷ ποιούμενος, καὶ Βυζάντιον
 πολιορκῶν, καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἂς μὲν ἀναιρῶν,
 εἰς ἂς δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας κατάγων, πότερον ταῦτα
 πάντα ποιῶν ἥδίκει καὶ παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἔλυε
 τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ οὐ ; καὶ πότερον φανῆναι τινα
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα κωλύσοντα ποιεῦν αὐτὸν
 72 ἔχρην ἢ μή ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἔχρην, ἀλλὰ τὴν
 Μυστῶν λείαν καλούμενην τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὖσαν
 ὀφθῆναι ζώντων καὶ ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, περιείρ-
 γασμαὶ μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπών, περιείργα-
 σται δ' ἡ πόλις ἡ πεισθεῖσα ἐμοί, ἔστω δὲ
 ἀδικήματα πάντα ἡ πέπρακται καὶ ἀμαρτήματα

έμα. εἰ δὲ ἔδει τινὰ τούτων κωλυτὴν φανῆναι, τίνα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον προσῆκε γενέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμην ἐγώ, καὶ ὅρων καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖνον ἡναυτιούμην, καὶ προλέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προτεσθαι διετέλουν.

Καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκεῖνος ἔλυσε τὰ πλοῖα 73 λαβών, οὐχ ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχύνη. Φέρε δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων, τίς τίνος αἴτιός ἐστι, γενήσεται φανερόν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος, ἐκκλησίᾳ σύγκλητος ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, Εὖβουλος Μηνησιθέου Κόπριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ προστίγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἄρα Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσι ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομπὴν εἰς Ἐλλήσποντον ὁ παρὰ Φιλίππου στρατηγὸς Ἀμύντας κιταγήσχεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὅπως ἡ βουλὴ συναχθῶσι καὶ αἱρεθῶσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, οἱ παραγενόμενοι διαλέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι τὸν 74 ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, διτὶ οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδέν. εἰ δέ τι πλημμελοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβών, διτὶ ἐπισκεψύμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλιγωρίας ἀξίαν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἵδιᾳ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν ἢ ὁ ἀποστέλλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσηται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.]

75 Τοῦτο μὲν τούννυ τὸ ψήφισμα Εὐβουλος ἔγραψεν, οὐκ ἐγώ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἴθ' Ἡγήσιππος, εἴτ' Ἀριστοφῶν πάλι, εἴτα Φιλοκράτης, εἴτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἴτα πάντες· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, βοηδρομιῶνος ἔηγ καὶ νέᾳ, βουλῆς γνώμῃ, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἔχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνενεγκόντες, ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. καὶ εἴλοντο τούσδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην. πρυτανεία φυλῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολυττέὺς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.]

76 Ὁσπερ τούννυ ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὗτω σὺ δεῖξον, Αἰσχύνη, ὁποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας ψηφισμα αἵτιος εἴμι τοῦ πολέμου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀν ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἀν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρέσχου. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἴτιάται ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἐτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. Λέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

77 [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο

περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀφέσεως ὡν ἐναυάρχει Λαομέδων. καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐηθείᾳ ἔσεσθαι, εἴ γ' οἵεσθ' ἐμὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι ἔξαπεστάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σῖτον παραπέμψοντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Λῆμνον, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοινῇ κειμέναις ἥμīν συνθήκαις. καὶ ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἄνευ μὲν 78 τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δέ τινων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἑτέρων ἴδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο συντετελέσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυμβριανοῖς βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὗτοῖς τὸ τοιούτο πρόσοδον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ μέντοι μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὕθ' ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἐμοί. διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἥμᾶς ἀφίημι ὑμῖν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἐὰν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν κακοήθως πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι κάγὼ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

'Ενταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' 79 αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἀντί ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ γεγράφει· τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμην ἔγώ καὶ τούτοις ἥναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εύβοιαν, ἥνικ' Εύβοιάς ἦπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὁρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστησεν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς 80

ἀποστόλους ἄπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐξ ὧν ὑμῶν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔπαινοι δόξαι τιμαὶ στέφανοι χάριτες, παρὰ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ὑπῆρχον, τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν ὑμῶν τότε πεισθεῖσιν ἡ σωτηρία περιεγένετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνῆσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον εὔνους ἔαντοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντεις εἶναι· πάντα γάρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἢ προείπατε.

81 καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἀν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὁρεόν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀλλων μηδὲν ἔξελέγχεσθαι μηδ' ἢ ποιῶν ἡδίκει μηδένα ἔξετάζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ

82 πάντων ἡκιστα σύ· οἱ γάρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρο ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυον, Αἰσχύνη, καὶ σὺ προύξένεις αὐτῶν· οὓς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ

218. τὴν δ' ἐμὴν σιωπήν, ὡς Δημόσθενες, ἡ τοῦ βίου μετρότης παρεσκεύασεν· ἀρκεῖ γάρ μοι μικρὰ καὶ μειζόνων αἰσχρῶς οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶ, ὥστε καὶ σιγῶ καὶ λέγω βουλευσάμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει δαπάνης. σὺ δ', οἴμαι, λαβὼν μὲν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας. λέγεις δὲ οὐχ ὅπόταν σοι δοκῆ οὐδὲ ἢ βούλει, ἀλλ' ὅπόταν οἱ μισθοδόται σοι προστάττωσιν· οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ δὲ ἀλαζονεύομενος, ἢ παραχρῆμα ἔξελέγχῃ ψευδόμενος.

οὗτε δύκαια οὗτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ' ἡσαν φίλοι. οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδέν, ὃ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβών, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. ἀλλ' οὐ σύ, ἀλλὰ βοᾶς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δὲ οὐδέποτ', ἐὰν μή σε οὗτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον. στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, 83 καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς ἀσπερ οὗτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρρηθέντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἥδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου, οὗτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχύνης παρὼν οὗτε τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγράψατο. Καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγέμονος ἄρχοντος, γαμηλῶνος ἕκτῃ ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεοντίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανίες πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων καί τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἡλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὖνοις ὅν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὅ τι ἀν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπέρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένη Δημοσθένους Παιανία καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύσουσαν φυλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος.]

85 "Κατιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδε τια αἰσχύνην τῇ πόλει συμβάσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ φήφισμα ἡ χλευ-
ασμὸν ἡ γέλωτα, ἢ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι,
ἴαν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ἡ νέα καὶ
γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, ἔάν τε καλῶς ἔχῃ,
χάριτος τυγχάνει, ἔάν θ' ὡς ἐτέρως, τιμωρίας.
φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκὼς τότε, καὶ
οὐ μέμφεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.

86 Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς
ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγημαι τὰ ἄριστα
πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐβούλευεσθε,
λέγων καὶ γράφων, τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γρα-
φέντα καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ
καὶ πᾶσι γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῦ θεοῖς καὶ προ-
σόδους ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

87 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφ'
ὑμῶν ἐξηλάθη, τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ
τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, καν διαρραγῶσί τινες τούτων,
ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἔτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν
ἐζήτει. ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
πλείστῳ χρώμεθ' ἐπεισάκτῳ, βουλόμενος τῆς σι-
τοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θρά-
κης Βιζαντίους συμμάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον ἡξίου συμπολεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλε-
μον, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἥθελον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφασαν
τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι, λέγοντες ἀληθῆ, χά-
ρακα βαλόμενος πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ'

ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων 88
 ὃ τι μὲν προσῆκε ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω·
 δῆλον γάρ ἔστιν ἀπασιν. ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθή-
 σας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ
 κωλύσας τὸν ‘Ελλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ’
 ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι. τὸ δ’ ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω.
 τίς δ’ ὁ τῇ πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων
 καὶ ἀπλῶς ἔαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀφειδῶς δούς;
 ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα ταῦτα ὠφέλησεν ἀπαντας, 89
 οὐκέτ’ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐργῷ πεπεί-
 ρασθε· ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστὰς πόλεμος ἀνευ τοῦ
 καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον
 ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέροις διῆγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς
 τοῦ εἰρήνης, ἦν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦ-
 σιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλουσαῖς ἐλπίσιν, ὡν
 διαμάρτοιεν, καὶ μετάσχοιεν ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλ-
 τιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μὴ μετα-
 δοῖεν ὑμῶν ὧν αὐτοὶ προγρηγνται. Λέγε δ’ αὐτοῖς
 καὶ τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς
 τῶν Περινθίων, οἷς ἔστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν
 πόλιν.

256. ἀλλ’ εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀποβλέψαντες, ὅταν φῆ Βυζαν-
 τίους μὲν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν πρεσβεύσας ἔξελέσθαι τοῦ Φιλίππου,
 ἀποστῆσαι δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνας, ἐκπλῆξαι δὲ Θηβαίους δημηγορήσας·
 οἵται γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς τοσοῦτον εὐηθείας ἥδη προβεβηκέναι, ὥστε
 καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπεισθήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ Πειθὼ τοέφοντας, ἀλλ’ οὐ
 συκοφάντην ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ πόλει.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ.

90 [Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίχω Δαμάγητος ἐν τῷ ἀλίᾳ ἔλεξεν, ἐκ τᾶς βωλᾶς λαβὼν ῥήτραν. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τε τοῖς προγεγεναμένοις καιροῖς εὐνόεων διατελεῖ Βυζαντίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περινθίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται, ἐν τε τῷ παρεστακότι καιρῷ Φιλίππω τῷ Μακεδόνος ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ' ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ δενδροκοπέοντος, βοηθήσας πλοίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ σίτῳ καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὅπλίταις ἐξείλετο ἀμὲν ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ ἀποκατέστησε τὰν πάτριον πολιτείαν καὶ τὰς νόμους καὶ τὰς τάφως, δεδόχθω τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων Ἀθηναίοις δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκιᾶν, προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἄγωσι, πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βωλὰν καὶ τὸν δῆμον πράτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τοῖς κατοικεῖν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειτουργήτοις ἡμεν πασᾶν τὰν λειτουργῶν· στάσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἔκκαιδεκαπήγχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορῷ, στεφανούμενον τὸν Δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἑλλάδι παντηγύριας, Ἰσθμια καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Ὄλυμπια καὶ Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρῦξαι τὰς στεφάνως ὡς ἐστεφάνωται ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπιστέωνται οἱ Ἑλλανες πάντες Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων εὐχαριστίαν.]

92 Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στεφάνους.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ.

[Χερρονησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστὸν Ἐλεοῦντα Μάδυτον Ἀλωπεκόνυμητον στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ιδρύονται καὶ Διῆμου Ἀθηναίων τοῦτα, καὶ Χάριτος βωμὸν ἀπαντανταν μεγάταν ἀγαθῶν

παραίτιος γέγονε Χερροησίταις, ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ ιερά. καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὃ τι ἀν δύνηται ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.]

Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον 93 σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ Φιλίππων γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τούτων ἡ προαιρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώποις τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ σύμμαχος ὅν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἐωράτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὐδὲ τί γένοιτ' ἀν αἰσχιον ἡ μιαρώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ' 94 οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἀν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως περὶ ὅν ἥγνωμον ἡκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε, ἐξ ὅν δόξαν καὶ εὔνοιαν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτάσθε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς ἐστεφανώκατε̄ ἥδη τῶν πολιτευομένων, ἅπαντες ἵσασι· δι' ὄντων δ' ἄλλον ἡ πόλις ἐστεφάνωται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ρήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμέ, οὐδὲ ἀν εἰς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

Ἴνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας, ἂς κατὰ τῶν 95 Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμή-

σκων, συκοφαντίας οὖσας ἐπιδείξω μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας ἡγοῦμαι) ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἴ τὰ μάλιστ' ἡσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, ἐν ᾧ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πεπραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελθεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχέσι· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἴδιᾳ καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ δεῖ πειρᾶσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν. ὑμεῖς τούντιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἀρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὔβοιαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἰγαίαν, Κλεωνάς, ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κτησαμένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλίαρτον καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πόλλ' ἀν ἔχόντων μητρικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν πέρι τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποίουν τοῦτο, οὐδὲ ἐγγύς. καίτοι τότε ταῦτα ἀμφότερα, Αἰσχύνη, οὕθ' ὑπὲρ εὑρεγετῶν ἐποίουν οὗτ' ἀκίνδυνα ἔώρων. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα προΐεντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἥθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς διδόναι, ὅρθως καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, κανέναν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῆ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς

ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἔγχειρεῦν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ὅ τι ἀν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ γενναίως. ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους ὅντας οὐδὲ εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἡδικηκότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, διεκαλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίους ρώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ οὐα πεποιηκότων ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύστε διαλογισάμενοι. ^{καὶ γάρ τοι} ⁹⁹ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐδείξατε ἐκ τούτων ὅτι κανὸν τιοῦν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔξαμάρτῃ, τούτων τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τὰλλα ἔχετε, ἀν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνῃ, οὕτε μητσικακήσετε οὕθ' ὑπολογιεῦσθε. καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον οὕτως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὐβοιαν οὐ περιείδετε, οὐδὲ ὅν ὑπὸ Θεμίστωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ Ὀραπὸν ἡδίκησθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τότε τριηράρχων πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὅν εἴς ἦν ἐγώ. ἀλλ' οὕπω περὶ τούτων. καὶ καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε καὶ τὸ ¹⁰⁰ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔξημαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὅν ἡδίκησθε ὑπολο-

γισάμενοι. μυρία τοίνυν ἔτερα εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, ἔξόδους πεζάς, στρατείας καὶ πάλαι γεγονής καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃς ἀπάστας ἡ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ιοι καὶ σωτηρίας πεποίηται. εἴτ' ἐγὼ τεθεωρηκὼς ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὕσης τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μητικακεῖν νὴ Δία πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' ἃς ἀπαντα προησόμεθα. καὶ τίς οὐκ ἀν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνειν ἐπεχείρησα; ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον οὐκ ἀν ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οὖδ' ἐγώ· εἰ γὰρ ἡβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδών; οὐκ ἔξῆν; οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτ' ἐροῦντες οὗτοι;

ιο2 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἣ τούτων ἔξῆς ἐποιτεύόμην· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ, τί τὸ τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. ὅρῶν γάρ, ὃ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλαμάτων γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρια ἡ μικρὰ κεκτημένους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολλύοντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζουσαν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ' ὃν μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἡνάγκασα τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἐπανσ' ἀδικου-

μένους, τῇ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα. καὶ ιο3 γραφεὶς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν ἦ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἰεσθέ μοι διδόναι, ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θεῖναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μή, καταβάλλοντα ἔân ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτ'; ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα δικνήσαιμ' ἄν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκό-ιο4 τως ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν τῶν προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν, αὐτοῖς μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔκαστον τιθέναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχους ἔτι ἀνόμαζον ἔαντούς, ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. ὥστε δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν. Καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὁ ιο5 εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν, εἴτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τὸν τ' ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος ἔκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἰπποθοωντίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημο-

σθένους Παιανιεὺς εἰσήγεκε νόμον εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ πρότερον, καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλειαι ἵσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος· καὶ ἀπήγεκε παρανόμων Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεύς, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ λαβὼν ἀπέτιε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.]

ιο6 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαδέκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἵσον τῆς χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους.]

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἱρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα· ἔαν δὲ πλειόνων ἡ οὐσία ἀποτελιμένη ἡ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἔως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἡ λειτουργία ἔστω. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἱς ἐλάττων οὐσίᾳ ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.]

ιο7 Ἄρα μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ, ἢ μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι ἀν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν οἱ πλούσιοι; οὐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σὲμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεὶς ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πέιραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων

κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν οὐχ ἵκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριήραρχος οὐδεὶς πώποτ’ ἀδικούμενος παρ’ ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων ἐδέθη, οὐ τριήρης οὕτ’ ἔξω καταλειφθεῖσα ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὕτ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι. καίτοι κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους 108 νόμους ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο. τὸ δ’ αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λειτουργεῖν· πολλὰ δὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα συνέβαινεν. ἐγὼ δ’ ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρχίας· πάντ’ οὖν τὰ δέοντα ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀξιός εἴμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα προηρούμην πολιτεύματα, ἀφ’ ὃν ἂμα δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον τῇ πόλει, βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πύκρὸν καὶ κακόηθες οὐδέν ἔστι πολίτευμα ἐμόν, οὐδὲ ταπεινόν, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάξιον. ταῦτὸ τοίνυν ἥθος ἔχων ἐν τε 109 τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσομαι· οὕτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δίκαια εἰλόμην, οὕτ’ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τὰ Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἥγαπησα ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῆς πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων.

‘Ηγοῦμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναι μοι περὶ τοῦ κη- 110 ρύγματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἄριστά τε ἐπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὔνους εἴμι καὶ πρόθυμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρη-

μένων δεδηλώσθαι μοι νομίζω. καίτοι τὰ μέγιστά γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἐμαυτῷ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἔφεξῆς τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδούναι με δεῖν, εἴτα, κανὸν μηδὲν εἶπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμάτων, ὅμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἔκαστῳ τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.



III. Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, σῦτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οἷμαι ὑμᾶς μανθάνειν οὕτ’ αὐτὸς ἡδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλούς· ἀπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὁρθὴν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι. τοσούτου γάρ δέω λέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο,

13. Λέξουσι δέ, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἔτερον λόγον ὑπεναντίον τῷ ἀρτίως εἰρημένῳ, ὡς ἄρα, ὅσα τις αἱρετὸς ὥν πράττει κατὰ ψήφισμα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀρχή, ἀλλ’ ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία· ἀρχὰς δὲ φήσουσιν ἐκείνας εἶναι, ἂς οἱ θεσμοθέται ἀποκληροῦσιν ἐν τῷ Θησείῳ, κάκείνας, ἂς ὁ δῆμος εἴωθε χειροτονεῖν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἵππαρχους καὶ τὰς μετὰ τούτων ἀρχάς, τὰς δ’ ἄλλας ταύτας πραγματείας προστεταγμένας κατὰ ψήφισμα. 14. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τούτων νόμον ὑμέτερον παρέξομαι, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐνομοθετήσατε λύσειν ἡγούμενοι τὰς τοιαύτας προφάσεις, ἐν φῷ διαιρρήδην γέγραπται, “τὰς χειροτονητάς” φησιν “ἀρχὰς” ἀπάσας ἐνὶ περιλαβὼν δύνοματι ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ προσειπὼν ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας εἶναι ἂς ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ, “καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας” φησὶ “τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων.” ἔστι δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιός, ἐπιστάτης τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἔργων· “καὶ πάντας, ὅσοι διαχειρίζονται τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πλέον ἡ τριάκονθή” ἡμέρις, καὶ ὅσοι λαμβάνουσιν ἡγεμονίας δικαιοτηρίων.”

ώσθ' ἄπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὅμολογῶ
ῶν ἡ διακεχείρικα ἡ πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν.
ῶν μέντοι γε ἐκ τῆς ἵδιας οὐσίας ἐπαγγειλάμενος ^{τις}
δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος
εἶναι φημι (ἀκούεις Λίσχίνη;) οὐδ' ἄλλον οὐδένα,
οὐδ' ἀν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ὡν τύχῃ. τίς
γάρ ἔστι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρω-
πίας μεστός, ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἵδιων καὶ
ποιήσαντα πρᾶγμα φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον
τῆς χάριτος μὲν ἀποστερεῶν, εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας
δὲ ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ὡν ἔδωκεν
ἔφιστάναι; οὐδὲ εῖς. εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω,
κάγὼ στέρξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ^{τις}
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' οὗτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ^{τῷ} θεωρικῷ τότε ὡν ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, “ἐπή-
νεσεν αὐτόν,” φησιν, “ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα.” οὐ περὶ^{τούτων} γε οὐδενός, ὡν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς

17. Πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸν ἄφυκτον λόγον, ὃν φησι Δημοσθένης, βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Δέξει γὰρ οὗτος, “τειχοποίος εἴμι· ὅμολογῶ· ἀλλ' ἐπιδέδωκα τῇ πόλει μνᾶς ἑκατὸν καὶ τὸ ἔργον μείζον ἔξειργασμα. Τίνος οὖν εἴμι ὑπεύθυνος, εἰ μή τίς ἔστιν εὐνοίας εὐθύνη;” Πρὸς δὴ ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν ἀκούσατέ μου λέγοντος καὶ δίκαια καὶ ὑμῖν συμφέροντα. Ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἀρχαίᾳ οὕσῃ καὶ τηλικαύτῃ τὸ μέγεθος οὐδείς ἔστιν ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν καὶ ὀπωσοῦν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσεληλυθότων.

23. “Οταν τοίνυν μάλιστα θρασύνηται Δημοσθένης λέγων, ὡς διὰ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπεύθυνος, ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε· “οὐκ οὖν ἔχρην σε, ὡ Δημόσθενες, ἔσαι τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν κήρυκα κηρῦξαι τὸ πάτριον καὶ ἔννομον κήρυγμα τοῦτο, τίς

ἐπέδωκα, ὡς συκοφάντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς
ἡσθα. καὶ διά γε τοῦτο ὁρθῶς ἐπηγνούμην, ὅτι
τάνηλωμένα ἔδωκα καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην. ὁ μὲν
γὰρ λογισμὸς εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξετασόντων
προσδεῖται, ἡ δὲ δωρεὰ χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου
δικαία ἔστι τυγχάνειν· διόπερ ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν
114 ὃδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ. ὅτι δ' οὗτα οὐ μόνον ἐν
τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἥθεσιν
ἀρισταὶ, ἐγὼ ῥᾳδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω. πρῶτον
μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν
ἰδίων προείτο, πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωται ὑφ' ὑμῶν·
εἴθ' ὅτε τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν
Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφανοῦντο· εἴθ' οὐτοσὶ Νεοπτό-
λεμος πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης ᾖ, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέ-
δωκε, τετίμηται. σχέτλιον γὰρ ἀν εἴη τοῦτο
γε, εἰ τῷ τινα ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι ἢ διδόναι τῇ πό-
λει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται, ἢ τῶν
δοθέντων ἀντὶ τοῦ κομίσασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας
115 ὑφέξει. "Οτι τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε τὰ
ψηφίσματά μοι τὰ τούτοις γεγενημένα αὐτὰ
λαβών. λέγε.

βούλεται κατηγορεῖν; ἔασσον ἀμφιστρηγῆσαι σοι τὸν βουλόμενον
τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν ἔχεις εἰς
τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν μικρὰ κατέθηκας, δέκα τάλαντα εἰς
ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εὐληφώς. μὴ ἄρπαξε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, μηδὲ
ἐξαυροῦ τῶν δικαστῶν τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, μηδὲ ἔμπρο-
σθεν τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' ὑστερος πολιτεύου. ταῦτα γὰρ ὁρθοῖ τὴν
δημοκρατίαν."

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

[Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς, βοηδορυμώνος ἔκτη μετ' εἰκάδα, γνώμη βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανώσαι Ναυσικλέα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν δισχιλίων ὄντων ἐν Ἰμβρῷ καὶ βοηθούντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχειροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἥδιας οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς.]

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων βουλῆς γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλεὶς εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἥδιων ἀναλωμάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανώσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ διγώνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγωνοθέτας.]

Τούτων ἔκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἡς 117 ἥρχεν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἐστεφανοῦτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος. οὐκοῦν οὐδέ τέλος ἔγω· ταῦτα γὰρ δίκαια ἔστι μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δήπου. ἐπεδώκα; ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὅν ἔδωκα ὑπεύθυνος. ἥρχον; καὶ δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας ἔκείνων, οὐχ ὅν ἐπέδωκα. νὴ Δί', ἀλλ'

ἀδίκως ἥρξα; εἴτα παρών, ὅτε με εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταί, οὐ κατηγόρεις;

118 Ἰνα τούνν ἴδητε ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ ἐφ' οἷς οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα ὃλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. οἵς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράφατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις, ἂ διώκει, συκοφαντῶν φανήσεται. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέωντος, πινακεψιῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Οἰνηδός, Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς γενόμενος ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς καὶ προσαναλώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ιδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθεὶς ἐπέδωκε τοὺς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωρικοῦς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιᾶ ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἡς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνισθέτην.]

119 Οὐκοῦν ἂ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὃν οὐδὲν σὺ γέγραψαι· ἂ δέ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἂ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὄμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφη· ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἔχθρὸς καὶ

βάσκανος ὄντως ποιός τις ἀν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν;
οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;

Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττε- 120
σθαι, τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρύχθαι παρ-
λείπω καὶ τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανώσθαι πρό-

32. Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου παρανόμως
ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι κελεύει γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς διδάξω.
ὅ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κελεύει, ἐὰν μέν τινα στεφανοῦ ἡ βουλὴ,
ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίᾳ ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλη-
σίᾳ, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ. καί μοι λέγε τὸν νόμον.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

33. Οὗτος ὁ νόμος, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχει. οὐ
γάρ, οἶμαι, φέτο δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ὥρτορα σεμνύνεσθαι πρὸς
τοὺς ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ
δήμου καὶ μὴ ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν νομο-
θέτης οὗτος· ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν πῶς; ἀναγίγνωσκε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

34. Ἀκούετε, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης κελεύει ἐν τῷ
δήμῳ ἐν Πυκνὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνακηρύττειν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στε-
φανούμενον, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ, Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, οὐ
τοὺς νόμους μόνον ὑπερβάσις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τόπον μετενεγκάν, οὐδὲ
ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν,
οὐδὲ ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου, ἀλλ' ἐναντίον τῶν Ἐλλήνων, ἵνα μὲν συν-
ειδῶσιν, οἷον ἄνδρα τιμῶμεν. 35. οὕτω τοίνυν περιφανῶς παρά-
νομα γεγραφώς, παραταχθεὶς μετὰ Δημοσθένους ἐποίσει τέχνας
τοῖς νόμοις· ἂς ἐγὼ δηλώσω καὶ προερῶ ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθητε ἔξα-
πατηθέντες. Οὗτοι γάρ, ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύονται οἱ νόμοι τὸν
ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττειν ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας,
οὐχ ἔξουσι λέγειν, οἴσουσι δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν τὸν Διονυσιακὸν
νόμον, καὶ χρήσονται τοῦ νόμου μέρει τινὶ κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν

τερον. ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη, ὡστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου ἀν ἀναρρηθῆ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων ἐνεκα συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ

νῦν, 36. καὶ παρέξονται νόμον οὐδὲν προσήκοντα τῇδε τῇ γραφῇ, καὶ λέξουσιν ὡς εἰσὶ τῇ πόλει δύο νόμοι κείμενοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, εἰς μὲν ὃν νῦν ἐγὼ παρέχομαι διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύοντα τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἔτερον δὲ εἴναι νόμον φήσουσιν ἐναντίον τούτῳ, τὸν δεδωκότα ἔξουσίαν ποιεύσθαι τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου τραγῳδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἐὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος· κατὰ δὴ τούτον τὸν νόμον φήσουσι γεγραφέναι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα. 40. Εἰ τοίνυν, δοῦλοι οἱ παρὰ τούτων λόγος καὶ ησαν δύο κείμενοι νόμοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, ἔξι ἀνάγκης, οἷμα, τῶν μὲν θεσμοθετῶν ἔξευρόντων, τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων ἀποδόντων τοῖς νομοθέταις ἀνήροιτον ὃν ὁ ἔτερος τῶν νόμων, ητοι ὁ τὴν ἔξουσίαν δεδωκὼς ἀνειπεῖν ἢ ὁ ἀπαγορεύων· ὅπότε δὲ μηδὲν τούτων γεγένηται, φανερῶς δή που ἔξελέγονται οὐ μόνον ψευδῆ λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀδύνατα γενέσθαι. 44. Συνιδῶν δὴ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον οὐδὲν ἐπικουνωνοῦντα τῷ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένων νόμῳ, οὔτε λύσας ἐκείνον (οὐδὲ γάρ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἴνωχλεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέατρον), οὔτ' ἐναντίον τοῖς πρότερον κειμένοις νόμοις τιθείς (οὐ γάρ ἔξεστιν), ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ὑμετέρου στεφανουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν τοὺς οἰκέτας ἀπελευθερούντων καὶ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων, καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύει μήτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μήτ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενον, μήτ' ὑπὸ ἄλλου, φησί, μηδενός, ἢ ἀτιμον είναι τὸν κύρου. 45. "Οταν οὖν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στεφανουμένοις εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀναρρηθῆναι, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένοις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν στεφανουμέ-

θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἄπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον ἐπαιωνῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραφεν. Λέγε δὲ αὐτὸν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

[Οσους στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν στεφάνων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑκάστους τοῖς ὕδαις δῆμοις, ἐὰν μή τινας ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ· τούτους δὲ ἔξειναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις ἀναγορεύεσθαι.]

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχύνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, 121 πλὴν ἐάν τινας ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται· τούτους δὲ ἀναγορευέτω. τί οὖν, ὡς ταλαιπωρε, συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττεις; τί σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ αἰσχύνη

νοις καὶ φυλετῶν ἀπέίτη μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τοῖς τραγῳδοῖς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐρανίζων στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα ψευδῆ φιλοτιμίαν κτάται, προσαπείπῃ δὲ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μηδὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀνακηρύττεσθαι ἀπούστης βουλῆς καὶ δήμους καὶ φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν,— ὅταν δέ τις ταῦτα ἀφέλῃ, τί τὸ καταλειπόμενόν ἔστι πλὴν οἱ ξενικοὶ στέφανοι; 48. Ἐπειδὰν τοίνυν ἔξαπατῶντες ὑμᾶς λέγωσιν, ὡς προσγέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἔξειναι στεφανοῦν, ἐν τῷ ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, ἀπομνημονεύετε αὐτοῖς ὑποβάλλειν· ναὶ, εἴ γέ σέ τις ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῖ· εἰ δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, ἀποδέδεικται σοι τόπος, ὅπου δεῖ τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ἀπειρτητά σοι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ κηρύττεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ “ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ” δὲ τι ἔστιν, δλην τὴν ἡμέραν λέγε· οὐ γὰρ ἀποδείξεις, ὡς ἔνομα γέγραφας.

φθόνου δίκην εἰσάγειν, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενός, καὶ νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι τοῖς γε ὁμω-
 122 μοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι. ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέγεις ἂ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτι-
 κῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκὼς κατὰ συγγρα-
 φῆν, εἴτ' οὐκ ἔχοντα ἂ προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγρα-

168. Ναί, ἀλλὰ δημοτικός ἔστιν. ἐὰν μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν εὐφημίαν τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ ἀποβλέπητε, ἔξαπατηθήσεσθε, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἐὰν δ' εἰς τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐκ ἔξαπα-
 τηθήσεσθε. ἐκείνως δὲ ἀπολάβετε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον. ἐγὼ μὲν μεθ' ὑμῶν λογιοῦμαι, ἂ δεῖ ὑπάρξαι ἐν τῇ φύσει τῷ δημο-
 τικῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σώφρονι, καὶ πάλιν ἀντιθήσω, ποιόν τινα εἰκός ἔστιν εἶναι τὸν διλγαρχικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ φαῦλον· ὑμεῖς δ' ἀντι-
 θέντες ἐκάτερα τούτων θεωρήσατ' αὐτόν, μὴ ὄποτέρουν τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ὄποτέρουν τοῦ βίου ἔστιν. 169. οἶμαι τοίνυν ἄπαντας ἀν ὁμο-
 λογήσειν ὑμᾶς τάδε δεῖν ὑπάρξαι τῷ δημοτικῷ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐλεύ-
 θερον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ πρὸς μητρός, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ γένος ἀτυχίαν δυσμενής ἡ τοῖς νόμοις, οἱ σώζουσι τὴν δη-
 μοκρατίαν, δεύτερον δ' ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων εὐεργεσίαν τινὰ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὑπάρχειν, ἡ τό γ' ἀναγκαιότατον μηδεμίαν ἔχθραν,
 ἵνα μὴ βοηθῶν τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἀτυχήμασι κακῶς ἐπιχειρῇ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν. 170. τρίτον σώφρονα καὶ μέτριον χρὴ πεφυ-
 κέναι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τῆς δαπάνης δωροδοκῆ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου, τέταρτον εὐ-
 γνόμονα καὶ δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν· καλὸν γὰρ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαι-
 ρεῖσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα, τὴν δὲ παδείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας· εἴ δὲ μή, τὴν γ' εὐγνωμοσύνην
 ἀεὶ προτακτέον τοῦ λόγου. πέμπτον ἀνδρεῖον εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν,
 ἵνα μὴ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐγκαταλείπῃ τὸν δῆμον.
 τὸν δ' διλγαρχικὸν πάντα δεῖ τάνατία τούτων ἔχειν· τί γὰρ δεῖ πάλιν διεξέναι; σκέψασθε δή, τί τούτων ὑπάρχει Δημοσθένει·
 ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς ἔστω ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις.

φῆς κομιζόμενος, ἡ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι γιγνωσκομένους. καὶ βοᾶς ρήτα καὶ ἄρρητα ὄνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης, ἢ σοὶ καὶ τῷ σῷ γένει πρόσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὃ ἀνδρες ¹²³ Αθηναῖοι. ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν, ὃν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν τοῖς ἔχθροῖς περὶ ἀλλήλων συμβαίνει λέγειν. οἴκοδομῆσαι δὲ τοὺς προγόνους ταυτὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ὑπειληφα οὐχ ἵνα συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἴδιων κακῶς τὰ ἀπόρρητα λέγωμεν ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξελέγχωμεν, ἐάν τις ἡδικηκώς τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς ¹²⁴ Αἰσχύνης οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐμοῦ πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῶν εἶλετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἐλαττον ἔχων δίκαιος ἐστιν ἀπελθεών. ἦδη δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. πότερόν σέ τις, Αἰσχύνη, τῆς πόλεως ἔχθρὸν ἡ ἐμὸν εἶναι φῆ; ἐμὸν δῆλον ὅτι. εἴτα οὖ μὲν ἦν παρ' ἐμοῦ δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴ περ ἡδίκουν, ἐξέλειπες, ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρίσεσιν. οὖ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ¹²⁵ ἀθῷος ἀπασι, τοῖς νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε ἐξελεγχθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς

ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἡ πλέον ἡ ἐλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης, ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντηκας; ὅρα μὴ τούτων μὲν ἔχθρὸς ἦς, ἐμοὶ δὲ προσποιῆ.

126 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος ἄπασι δεδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὡς ἔοικε, καύπερ οὐ φιλολοίδορον ὄντα, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας εἰρημένας ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τάναγκαιότατ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὧν καὶ τίνων ῥαδίων οὕτως ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τίνας διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς ἂ τίς οὐκ ἀν ὕκνησε τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγξασθαι; — εἰ γὰρ Λιάκὸς ἡ Ῥαδάμανθις ἡ Μήνως ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριψμα ἀγορᾶς, ὅλεθρος γραμματεύς, οὐκ ἀν αὐτὸν οἶμαι ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ἀν οὗτως ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ βοῶντα ὡς γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ

166. Οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μιαρὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ρήματα, ἂ πῶς ποθ' ὑμεῖς, ὃ σιδήρεοι, ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκροώμενοι; Ὁτὶ ἔφη παρελθών “ἀμπελουργοῦσί τινες τὴν πόλιν, ἀνατετμήκασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου, ὑποτέτμηται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων, φορμορραφούμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ στενά, τινὲς πρῶτον ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσι.” 167. Ταῦτα δὲ τί ἔστιν, ὃ κίναδος; ρήματα ἡ θυμύματα; καὶ πάλιν ὅτε κύκλῳ περιιδυνῶν σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος ἔλεγες ὡς ἀντιπράττων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

260. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὃς γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδεία, ἡ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ, βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἴρηκα.

πάλιν σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλούμενον, ὃ τὰ
καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκεται· ταῦτα γὰρ
δήπου θυεῖν ἡκούετ’ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς,
ὡς κάθαρμα, ἡ τοῦς σοῦς τίς μετουσία; ἡ καλῶν 128
ἡ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις; πόθεν ἡ πῶς
ἀξιωθέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆ-
ναι, ἡς τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδέν’ ἀν-
εῖς εἴποι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καν
έτερου λέγοντος ἐρυθριάσειεν, τοῦς δ’ ἀπολει-
φθεῖστι μὲν ὥσπερ σύ, προσποιουμένοις δ’ ὑπ’
ἀναισθησίας τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῦν ποιεῖν,
ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῦν τοιούτοις εἶναι περί-
εστιν.

Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ’ ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν 129
εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, πότερ ὡς ὁ
πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἔδούλευε παρ’ Ἐλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς
τῷ Θησέῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας πα-
χείας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον, ἡ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ τοῦς μεθη-
μερινοῦς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλειστῷ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Καλα-
μύτῃ ἥρωι χρωμένη τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ
τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε; ἀλλ’ ὡς ὁ
τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου
δοῦλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς
ἐργασίας; ἀλλὰ νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς
ὁκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς
οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λό-
γους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔάσω, ἀπ’ αὐτῶν δὲ ὧν 130

αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅν ἔτυχεν
 ἦν, ἀλλ' οὗτος ὁ δῆμος καταράται. ὅψε γάρ ποτε
 —, ὅψε λέγω; χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρώην ἀμ'
 Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ρήτωρ γέγονε, καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς
 προσθεὶς τὸν μὲν πατέρα ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν
 Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν δὲ μητέρα σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλαυκο-
 θέαν, ἦν Ἐμπουσαν ἀπαντεῖς ἵσασι καλουμένην,
 ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν καὶ γίγνεσθαι
 δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχοῦσαν· πόθεν
 131 γὰρ ἄλλοθεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἴ
 καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει, ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου
 καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ διὰ τουτουσὶ γεγονὼς
 οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας
 σαυτὸν κατὰ τουτωνὶ πολιτεύῃ. καὶ περὶ ὅν μέν
 ἔστι τις ἀμφισβήτησις, ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως
 εἴρηκεν, ἐάσω· ἀ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔχθρῶν φανερῶς
 ἀπεδείχθη πράττων, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω.

132 Τίς γὰρ ὅμῶν οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα
 Ἀντιφῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππω τὰ νεώ-
 ρια ἐμπρήσειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἥλθεν; ὃν λαβόν-
 τος ἐμοῦ κεκρυμμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ κατα-
 στήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος
 οὗτος καὶ κεκραγώς, ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ
 ποιῶ τοὺς ἡτυχηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ
 ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφεθῆναι
 133 ἐποίησεν. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου
 πάγου τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθομένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν

άγνοιαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι συμβεβηκυῖαν ἵδοῦσα ἐπεζήτησε τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἐπανῆγαγεν ὡς ὑμᾶς, ἔξηρπαστ' ἀν ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τὸ δίκην δοῦναι διαδὺς ἔξεπέμπετ' ἀν ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνολόγου τουτού· νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνατε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον. τοι¹³⁴ γαροῦν εἰδυῖα ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἔξ Ἀρείου πάγου τότε τούτῳ πεπραγμένα, χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ἥσπερ πολλὰ προΐεσθε τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς προσείλεσθε κάκείνην καὶ τοῦ πράγματος κυρίαν ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπῆλασεν ὡς προδότην Ὅπερείδη δὲ λέγειν προσέταξεν· καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐδεμίᾳ ψῆφος ἡνέχθη τῷ μιαρῷ τούτῳ. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει¹³⁵ τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

[Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων οἵδε, Καλλίας Σουνιένος, Ζήνων Φλυεύς, Κλέων Φαληρεύς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος, διτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας συνεδρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν Ὅπερείδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λέγειν, καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ὅπερείδης.]

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν ἀπῆλασεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ προσέταξεν ἑτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶναι καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν.

136 ὜εν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο τοιωῦτο πολύτευμα τοῦ νεανίου τούτου, ὅμοιόν γε, οὐ γάρ; οἵς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ· ἔτερον δὲ ἀναμιμήσκεσθε. ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπειμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπειμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ρέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντεῦπον καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια οὐχὶ προῦδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἔξήλεγξα φανερῶς οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὅμολογειν· οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τάνατία ἐμαρτύρει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῆ.

137 Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιὼν εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν ἐλήφθη. καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνῳ συνήρει καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

[Τελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερεῖδης Καλλαίσχρου, Νικόμαχος Διοφάντου μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰδέναι Αἰσχίνην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογούμενον

[Αναξίνω, ὃς ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου. αὗται
ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος τρίτη ἰστα-
μένου.]

Μυρία τοίνυν ἔτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ 138
παραλείπω. καὶ γὰρ οὗτω πως ἔχει. πολλὰ ἀν
ἔγω ἔτι τούτων ἔχοιμι δεῖξαι, ὃν οὗτος κατ' ἐκεί-
νους τοὺς χρόνους τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν ἐμοὶ
δ' ἐπηρεάζων εὑρέθη. ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ'
ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην οὐδ' ἡν προσῆκεν ὀργήν,
ἀλλὰ δεδώκατε ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἔξουσίαν
τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῶν συμφερόν-
των ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς
λοιδορίαις ἥδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως
συμφέροντας ἀνταλλαττόμενοι· διόπερ ρᾶσθν ἐστι
καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα
μισθάρνειν ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐλόμενον τάξιν
πολιτεύεσθαι.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερῶς συν- 139
αγωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μέν, ὃ γῆ καὶ θεοί,
πῶς γὰρ οὖ; κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος· δότε δ', εἰ
βούλεσθε, δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερῶς
ἥδη τὰ πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο,
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν
ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν ἀλλ' ἐνεστήκει
πόλεμος, ὃ τι μὲν πώποτ' ἐπραξεῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ
βάσκανος οὐτοσὶ ἵαμβειογράφος, οὐκ ἀν ἔχοι δεῖ-
ξαι, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὕτε μεῖζον οὕτ' ἐλαττον ψήφισμα

οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνη ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει· εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐν τῷ ἔμῳ ὕδατι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν. καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον ἡ μηδὲν τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἔμοι τότ' ἔχοντ' ἔγκαλεν μὴ γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ' ἔτερα, ἡ τὸ τῶν ἔχθρῶν συμφέρον ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.

140 Ἄρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἥνικα ἐργάσασθαί τι δέοι κακόν; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἑτέρῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἡδύναθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὗτος λανθάνειν· ἐν δ' ἐπεξειργάστα, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον, ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος·

113. Ταύτης τῆς ἀρᾶς καὶ τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῆς μαντείας γενομένης, ἀναγεγραμμένων ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ Δοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ προεστηκότες αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες παρανομώτατοι, ἐπειργάζοντο τὸ πεδίον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον πάλιν ἐτείχισαν καὶ συνώκισαν, καὶ τέλη τοὺς καταπλέοντας ἐξέλεγον, καὶ τῶν ἀφικονούμενων εἰς Δελφοὺς πυλαγόρων ἐνίους χρήμασι διέφθειραν, ὃν εἰς ἦν Δημοσθένης. 114. χειριτονηθεὶς γὰρ ὁ νόος ὑμῶν πυλαγόρας λαμβάνει δισχιλίας δραχμὰς παρὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδεμίαν μνείαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι ποιήσασθαι. διωμολογήθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀποσταλήσεσθαι Ἀθήναζε τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου μνᾶς εἴκοσι τῶν ἐξαγίστων καὶ ἐπαράτων χρημάτων, ἐφ' ὃτε βοηθήσειν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν Ἀθήνησι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. 116. Ἐξηγγέλλετο δ' ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν βουλομένων εὔνοιαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὅτι οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς ὑποπεπτωκότες τότε καὶ δεινῶς θεραπεύοντες τοὺς Θηβαίους εἰσέφερον δόγμα κατὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, πεντήκοντα ταλάντους ζημιώσας τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας ἀνέθεμεν πρὸς τὸν καινὸν νεών πρὶν ἐξειργάσθαι, καὶ

περὶ οὓς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνάλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν διεξιὰν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τάληθές. τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἔστι· πόθεν; οὐδέποτ' ἐκνίψῃ σὺ τάκει πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ· οὐχ οὕτω πολλὰ ἔρεῖς.

Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ω̄ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 141 τοὺς θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὃσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἔστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις, εἰ μὲν ἀλληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴποιμι καὶ εἴπον καὶ τότ' εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ, δτε πρῶτον εἶδον τουτοὶ τὸν μιαρὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον (ἔγνων γάρ, εὐθέως ᔍγνων), εὐτυχίαν

ἐπεγράψαμεν τὸ προσῆκον ἐπίγραμμα “Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων ὅτε τάνατά τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐμάχοντο.” Μεταπεμψάμενος δ' ἐμὲ ὁ Ἱερομνήμων ἡξίου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω προγρημένον. 117. Ἀρχομένου δέ μου λέγειν καὶ προθυμότερόν πως εἰσεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, τῶν ἀλλων πυλαγόρων μεθεστηκότων, ἀναβοήσας τις τῶν Ἀμφισσέων, ἄνθρωπος ἀσελγέστυτος καί, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο, οὐδεμιᾶς παιδείας μετεσχηκώς, ἵστως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίου τινὸς ἔξαμπτάνειν αὐτὸν προαγομένου, “ἀρχὴν δέ γε,” ἔφη, “ω̄ ἄνδρες Ἑλληνες, εἰ ἐσωφρονεῖτε, οὐδὲ” ἀνώνομάζετε τοῦνομα τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ταῦτα ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐναγεῖς ἔξειργετ' ἀν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.” 118. Ἀμα δὲ ἐμέμνητο τῆς τῶν Φωκέων συμμαχίας, ἦν ὁ Κράβυλος ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψε, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως διεξήγει λέγων, ἀ ἔγὼ οὔτε τότ' ἐκαρτέρουν ἀκούων οὔτε νῦν ἡδέως μέμνημαι αὐτῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ οὕτω παρωξύνθην ὡς οὐδεπώποτ' ἐν τῷ ἔμαντον βύω. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λόγους ὑπερβήσομαι· ἐπῆλθε δ' οὖν μοι ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην μνησθῆναι τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων περὶ

μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἡ φιλονεικίας ἴδιας ἐνεκ' αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῆ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητον με ποιῆσαι.

142 Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι καὶ διετεινάμην οὐτωσὶ σφοδρῶς; ὅτι γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύσοντας, ἐκεῖνο φοβοῦμαι, μὴ τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑποληφθῆ ὅντος ἐλάττων· ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι

τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσεβείας, καὶ αὐτόθεν ἐστηκὼς ἐδείκνυον τοὺς Ἀμφικτύοσιν (ὑπόκειται γὰρ τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδίον τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἐστιν εὐσύνοπτον). 124. Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Κόττυφος ὁ τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζων ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίει τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων· ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ ὄνομάζουσιν, ὅταν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱερομήμονας συγκαλέσωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνθύοντας καὶ χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ. ἐνταῦθ' ἥδη πολλὰ μὲν ἐγίγνοντο τῶν Ἀμφιστέων κατηγορίαι, πολὺς δ' ἔπαινος ἦν κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως· τέλος δὲ παντὸς τοῦ λόγου ψηφίζονται ἡκειν τοὺς ἱερομήμονας πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης πυλαίας ἐν ῥῆτῷ χρόνῳ εἰς Πύλας, ἔχοντας δόγμα, καθ' ὃ τι δίκηρ δώσουσιν οἱ Ἀμφιστέις ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας ἔξιμαρτον. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώστεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

125. Τοῦ δόγματος τούτου ἀποδοθέντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἡμῶν ἀποδέξαμένον τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς πόλεως πάσης προαρουρούμένης εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ Δημοσθένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεσεγγυήματος τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμφίστης ἀντιλέγοντος καὶ ἐμοῦ φανερῶς ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ἔξελέγχοντος, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρωπος οὐκ ἐδύνατο σφῆλαι, εἰσελ-

τὰ ψευδῆ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμ- 143 φίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἐλάτειαν ἦλθε Φίλιπ- πος καὶ δι' ὃν ἥρέθη τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγεμών, ὃς ἄπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ πάντων εἰς ἀνὴρ τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. καὶ τότε εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ δια- μαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ “πό- λεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, Αἰσχίνη, πόλε- μον Ἀμφικτυονικόν” οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἴων με λέγειν, οἱ δὲ ἔθαύ-

θῶν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐκφέ-
ρεται προβούλευμα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσλαβὼν τὴν τοῦ γρά-
φαντος ἀπειρίαν. 126. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
διεπράξατο ἐπιψηφισθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι δήμους ψήφισμα ἥδη
ἐπαναστάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀπελθητότος ἐμοῦ, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε
ἐπέτρεψα, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἀφειμένων· οὐ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι
“τὸν ἱερομνήμονα,” φησί, “τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους
τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας πορεύεσθαι εἰς Πύλας καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς
ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων,” εὐπρεπῶς γε τῷ
ὄνόματι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔργῳ αἰσχρῷ· κωλύει γὰρ εἰς τὸν σύλλογον
τὸν ἐν Πύλαις ἀπαντᾶν, ὃς ἔξ ἀνάγκης πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἔμελλε
χρόνου γίγνεσθαι. 127. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ψηφίσματι πολὺ¹
καὶ σαφέστερον καὶ πικρότερον σύγγραμμα γράφει “τὸν ἱερο-
μνήμονα,” φησί, “τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους τοὺς ἀεὶ²
πυλαγοροῦντας μὴ μετέχειν τοῖς ἐκεῖ συλλεγομένοις μήτε λόγων
μήτε ἔργων μήτε δογμάτων μήτε πράξεως μηδεμιᾶς.” τὸ δὲ μὴ
μετέχειν τί ἐστι; πότερα τὸληθὲς εἶπω ἢ τὸ ἥδιστον ἀκοῦσαι;
τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔρω· τὸ γὰρ ἀεὶ πρὸς ἥδονὴν λεγόμενον οὐτωσὶ τὴν
πόλιν διατέθεικεν. οὐκ ἐφ μεμήσθαι τῶν ὅρκων, οὓς ἡμῶν οἱ
πρόγονοι ὕμοσαν, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀράς οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείας.
128. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, κατεμείναμεν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ

μαζον καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἴδιαν ἔχθραν
 144 ἐπάγειν με ύπελάμβανον αὐτῷ. ὅτις δ' ἡ φύσις,
 ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμά-
 των, καὶ τίνος εἴνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ
 πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν ὑπακούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκω-
 λύθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὖ πρᾶγμα συντεθὲν ὄψεσθε, καὶ
 μεγάλα ὠφελήσεσθε πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν,
 καὶ ὅση δεινότης ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, θεάσεσθε.

145 Οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδὲ
 ἀπαλλαγὴ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θεττα-
 λοὺς ἔχθροὺς ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ καίπερ
 ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων
 πολεμούντων αὐτῷ ὅμως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου
 καὶ τῶν λῃστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά. οὗτε γὰρ
 ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδέν, οὗτ'
 146 εἰσήγετο δὲν ἐδεῖτ’ αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ οὗτ’ ἐν τῇ θαλάτ-
 τῃ τότε κρείττων ὑμῶν, οὗτ’ εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλ-
 θεῖν δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων μήτε

ψήφισμα, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες συνελέγησαν εἰς Πύλας
 πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως, ἣς ἐγὼ οὗτ’ ἀν τοῦνομα εἴποιμι, μήθ’ αἱ συμ-
 φοραὶ παραπλήσιοι γένοντο αὐτῆς μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. καὶ
 συνελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας, καὶ
 στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον τὸν τότε τὰς γνώ-
 μας ἐπιψηφίζοντα, οὐκ ἐπιδημούντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Φιλίππου,
 ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρόντος, ἀλλ’ ἐν Σκύθαις οὕτω μακρὰν
 ἀπόντος· διὸ αὐτίκα μάλα τολμήσει λέγειν Δημοσθένης ὡς ἐγὼ
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπήγαγον. 129. Καὶ παρελθόντες τῇ πρώτῃ
 στρατείᾳ καὶ μάλα μετρίως ἐχρήγαντο τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν· ἀντὶ

Θηβαίων διιέντων· συνέβαινε δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντι τοὺς ὅποιουσδήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἔξεπέμπετε στρατηγούς (ἔώ γάρ τοῦτό γε) αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἴδιας ἐνεκ' ἔχθρας ^ἡ 147, τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ^ἡ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπείθοι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν τοιούτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ἐὰν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν ἡγεμὸν αἱρεθῆ, ράσον ἥλπιζε τὰ μὲν παρακρούσεσθαι τὰ δὲ πείσειν. τί οὖν; ἐπιχειρεῖ, θεάσασθ' ὡς εὖ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχήν· εἰς γάρ ταῦθ' εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτοῦ δεήσεσθαι. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο ^ἡ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ 148 πεμπομένων ἱερομνημόνων ^ἡ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγοῦτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξεσθαι, ἀν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ^ἥ καὶ παρ'

γάρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ἐξημίωσαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ῥητῷ χρόνῳ προείπον τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐναγεῖς καὶ τῶν πετραγμένων αἰτίους μετεστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ δι' εὐσέβειαν φυγόντας κατήγαγον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτε τὰ χρήματα ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς τ' ἐναγεῖς κατήγαγον καὶ τοὺς εὐσέβεις κατελθόντας διὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτύονων ἐξέβαλον, οὕτως ἥδη τὴν δευτέραν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας στρατείαν ἐποίησαντο, πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον, ἐπανεληλυθότος Φιλίππου ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας στρατείας, τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς εὐσέβειας ἡμῖν παραδεδώκτων, τῆς δὲ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκίας ἐμποδὼν γεγενημένης.

νῦμῶν τῶν ὑπεναυτίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λήγειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν; 149 μισθοῦται τούτον. οὐδενὸς δὲ προειδότος, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος, ὥσπερ εἴωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίγνεσθαι, προβληθεὶς πυλάγορος οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἡ τεττάρων χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη. ὡς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετο εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, πάντα τὰλλ' ἀφεὶς καὶ παριδὼν ἐπέραινεν ἐφ' οὓς ἐμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθεὶς καὶ διεξελθὼν ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ μέλιτον οὐ προορωμένους, τοὺς Ἱερομημόνας, πείθει ψηφίσασθαι περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν ἦν οἱ μὲν Ἀμφισσεῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν οὖσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς Ἱερᾶς χώρας γέτιάτο εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντων ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ ἄτινον οὗτος προφασίζεται, λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. γνώσεσθε δ' ἐκεῖθεν. οὐκ ἐνīη ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι δήπου τοῖς Λοκροῖς δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέσασθαι. τίς οὖν ἐκλήγεται τὴν ἡμᾶς; ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἰπὲ τὸν εἰδότα, δεῖξον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ. περιιόντων τούννυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κατὰ τὴν ὑφῆγησιν τὴν Ἰούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ κατηκόντισται ἀπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρπασται τῶν

ίερομημόνων. ὡς δ' ἄπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἦταν ράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἥγαγε στρατιάν, ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἥλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν Πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἥγεμόνα ἥγον οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀλλαις πόλεσιν. καὶ 152 προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν· ἡ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέφειν ἔφασαν δεῦν· καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἡ ἐκεῶνον αἰρεῖσθαι. τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἥρεθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἥγεμών. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθέως δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν, ἐρρώσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. εἰ μὲν 153 οὖν μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως, ὡς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἀν ἄπαν τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσεν· νῦν δὲ τό γ' ἔξαίφνης ἐπέσχον (αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι), μάλιστα μέν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεῶν τινὸς εὔνοίᾳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἴτα μέντοι, καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἔνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. Δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἔκαστα πέπρακται, ὃν εἰδῆτε ἥλικα πράγματα ἡ μιαρὰ κεφαλὴ ταράξασα αὕτη δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν. λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα.

ΔΟΓΜΑΤΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.

154 [Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἀρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνοντιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσι, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὄρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν.]

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ.

155 [Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἀρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατανεμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμουσι, καὶ κωλυόμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασι μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραματίκασιν, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κότυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φύλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιύδη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἰροῦνται οἱ Ἑλληνες οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.]

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. λέγε.

ΧΡΟΝΟΙ.

[Ἄρχων Μιησιθείδης, μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἔκτη ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ.]

Δὸς δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἦν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουον 156
οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τὸν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ
συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος, τὸν εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης
σαφῶς ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμά-
των, τὸ ταῦτ’ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὸν Θηβαίους
καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ
τοὺς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα ποιεῦν προσεποιεῖτο.
ὅ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις
— αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν. λέγε.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελοποννήσιών τῶν ἐν τῇ 157
συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ Δοκροὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Ὁζό-
λαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀμφίστη, πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ
Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ἵερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ'
ὅπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ
ἀμύνασθαι τὸν παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν·
ῶστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπιστι-
τυμὸν ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς λέουν, ὡς
ἡμεῖς ἔγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηδρομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι,
πανέμον. τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα, τοῖς
δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις ἐπιζημίοις. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

‘Ορᾶθ’ ὅτι φεύγει τὰς ἴδιας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ 158
τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα
συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις
ταύτας ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημέ-
νων μάλιστα αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν

λέγετε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιιόντες ὡς ὑφ' ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν παρ' 159 ἑκάστοις, ὡς γῆ καὶ θεοί· ὅν εἰς οὔτοσί, ὅν, εἰ μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τάληθες εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἀν ὁκυῆσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων, τόπων, πόλεων· ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος τῶν φύντων κακῶν αἴτιος. ὃν ὅπως ποτὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἴδοντες ἀπεστράφητε, θαυμάζω· πλὴν πολύ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ παρ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

160 Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἀψαμένῳ εἰς ἀ τούτοις ἐναντιούμενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι ἀφίχθαι· ἀ πολλῶν μὲν ἐνεκ' ἀν εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἔγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε. 161 ὄρῶν γὰρ ἔγὼ Θηβαίους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἑκατέροις ὁ μὲν ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερὸν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἔαν αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας καὶ οὐδὲ καθ' ἐν φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἐτοίμως ἔχοντας, ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν διετέλουν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς

έμαυτοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνων, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν Εὗ- 162 βουλον πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πρᾶξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις ἀντιλέγοντας τοῦθ' ὁμογνωμονοῦντας ἀεί. οὖς σὺ ζῶντας μέν, ὡς κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ αἰσθάνει κατηγορῶν· ἂν γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων ἐπιτιμᾶς ἔμοι, ἐκείνων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡ ἔμοιν κατηγορεῖς, τῶν πρότερον ἡ ἐγώ ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων. ἀλλ' 163 ἐκεῖσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον τούτου μὲν ποιήσαντος, συμπεραναμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνεργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν, συνέβη τὸν Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐπερ ἐνεκα τὰς πόλεις οὗτοι συνέκρουον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν μικρόν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἀνηδυνήθημεν· οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω προήγαγον οὗτοι τὴν ἔχθραν. ἐν οἷς δ' ἦτε ἦδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων εἴσεσθε. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἔκτη φθί- 164 νοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανεούστης Ἐρεχθίδος, βουλῆς καὶ στρατηγῶν γνώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἂς μὲν κατεύληφε πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίω δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἥγονμενος τὰς ἡμέτέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λίειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν

εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πύστεις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσονται αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς τὸ βουλεύσασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαργηλιῶνος μηνός. ἥρέθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς Σίμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος, Βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.]

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

165 [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς μουνυχιῶνος ἐνη καὶ νέᾳ, πολεμάρχων γνώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστῆσαι, παρεσκεύασται δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τὸν ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς παραγίγνεσθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσονται καὶ παρακαλέσονται αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχάς, ὅπως ἐνδεχομένως ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσηται· καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. ἥρέθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος, καὶ κήρυξ Εὔνομος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.]

166 Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ χαίρειν. ἦν μὲν ἀπ' ἄρχῆς εἴχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἱρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦ, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιεύσθε προσκαλέσασθαι βουλόμενοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτούς· βέλτιον δ' αὐτῶν φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἱρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἴσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς πρός με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα συνθηκῶν

μνημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπλημμελημένοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἔτσιμος εἴμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ἂν περ τὸν οὐκ ὄρθως συμβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν παραπέμψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσητε. ἔρρωσθε.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ 167 δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐκομισάμην τὴν πάρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολήν, δι' ἃς μοι τὴν δομόνοιαν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνανεύσθε. πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνουσι γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρακαλουμένοις. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεγίγνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει. νῦν δ' ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔζητηκότας ἔχειν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν γνώμας, ἥσθην καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλά, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ· ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ὥροπήν, ἐάν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. ἔρρωσθε.]

168 // Οὗτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἥκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἑλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀν εἴ τι γένοιτο ἔτι συμπινευσάντων ἀν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἵστε μὲν ἅπαντες, μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὅμως αὐτὰ τάναγκαιότατα.

'Εσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἥκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς 169

τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατεῖληπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἔξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τούς τ’ ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔξειργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἐκάλουν, καὶ θορύβουν πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. τῇ δ’ ύστεραίᾳ ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ύμεις δ’ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πρὸν ἐκείνῃν χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεῦσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω τοῦ καθῆτο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἥλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμένα ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα παρήγαγον κάκεῦνος εἶπεν, ἥρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ “τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;” παρήγει δ’ οὐδείς. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κῆρυκος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ’ οὐδείς, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς πατρίδος φωνῆς τὸν ἐροῦνθ’ ύπερ σωτηρίας. ἦν γὰρ ὁ κῆρυξ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφίησι, ταύτην κοινὴν τῇ τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιον ἔστιν ἡγεῖσθαι. καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει, πάντες ἀν ύμεις καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οὖδ’ ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, καὶ εὗνους τῇ πόλει καὶ πλου-

σίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· | καὶ γὰρ εὔνοίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκεῦνος ὁ καιρὸς. καὶ ἡ 172 ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὔνουν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὅρθῶς τίνος ἔνεκα ταῦτ' ἐπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς μηδ' ἐξητακώς πόρρωθεν, οὗτ' εἰ εὔνους ἢν οὕτ' εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἡμελλεν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῦν εἴσεσθαι οὐδ' ὑμῶν ἔξειν συμβουλεύειν. ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος 173 ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγώ, καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἂ μου δυοῖν ἔνεκ' ἀκούσατε προσσχόντες τὸν νοῦν, ἔνδος μέν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὔνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμην τὰ δέοντα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἐτέρουν δέ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῷ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι. εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι 174 “τοὺς μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ λίαν θορυβουμένους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ’ ἥγονῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ οἶδ’ ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ’ οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἀν αὐτὸν ἡκούομεν ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ ὅντα, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὅρίοις. ὅτι μέντοι ἵν’ ἔτοιμα ποιήσηται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις ἥκει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι. ὡς δ’ ἔχει,” ἐφην, “ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ 175

μουν. ἐκεῦνος ὅσους ἡ πεῖσαι χρῆμασι Θηβαίων ἡ ἔξαπατήσαι ἐνῆν, ἅπαντας εὐτρέπισται, τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθεστηκότας αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς πεῖσαι δύναται. τί οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος ἔνεκα τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατείληφεν; πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας καὶ παραστήσας τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἐπάραι καὶ θρασεῖς ποιήσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιουμένους καταπλῆξαι, ὥν ἡ συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες ἢ νῦν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν,
 176 ἡ βιασθῶσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρησόμεθ' ἡμεῖς," ἔφην, "ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμιῆσθαι καὶ ἀπιστεύναι αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἔχθρῶν οὖσι μερίδι, πρῶτον μὲν ἢ ἀν εὐξαίτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν, εἴτα φοβοῦμαι μὴ προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾳ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππισάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφότεροι. ἀν μέντοι πεισθῆτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῦν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν περὶ ὧν ἀν λέγω γένησθε, ὅμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν καὶ τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει δια-
 177 λύσειν. τί οὖν φημι δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν παρόντα ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, εἴτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν δεινῶν εἰσιν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ὁ κίνδυνος· ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευσῖνάδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας δεῖξαι

πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὅντας, ἵνα τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἵσου γένηται τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων, ἵδοῦσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φιλίππω τὴν πατρίδα πάρεσθ' ἡ βοηθήσουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς ἔτοιμοι καὶ βοηθήσετ', ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἥη. μετὰ ταῦτα χειροτονήσαι 178 κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ βαδίζειν ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; τούτῳ πάνυ μοι προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδέν (αἰσχρὸς γὰρ ὁ καιρός) ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν, ἐὰν κελεύωσιν, ὡς ἐκείνων ὅντων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἡ κείνοι προορωμένων, ὃν ἐὰν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἡ βουλόμεθα ὡμεν διωκημένοι καὶ μετὰ προσχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν, ἐὰν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσιν, ἀν τι νῦν ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ἢ πεπραγμένον." Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν 179 κατέβην. συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον οὐδὲν οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδὲν ἔγραψα μέν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα

δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μέν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ' ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῶν ἀπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας τῇ πόλει κινδύνους. Καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον.

180 Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἐμαυτὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἔναι θῶ; βούλει ἐμαυτὸν μέν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάτταλον, σὲ δὲ μηδ' ἥρωα τὸν τυχόντα ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτε Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοίνυν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ Βάτταλος Οἰνομάον τοῦ Κοθωκίδον σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος ὡν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. σὺ μέν γε οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἥσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην, ἐπραττον. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΗΕΝΟΥΣ.

181 Γέπι ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰωνίδος, σκιροφοριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐν τε τῷ παρελλιυθότι χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημένας αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι νομιζόμενα ἔναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὕσας δοριαλώτους πεποίηκεν οὐδὲν προαδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπὶ πολὺ προ-

άγει τῇ τε βίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὡμότητι· καὶ γὰρ Ἐλληνίδας πόλεις ἂς 182 μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας καταλύει, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἔξανδραποδίζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ Ἐλλήνων βαρβάρους κατοικεῖει ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ποιῶν οὔτε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν αὐτῷ παρούσῃ τύχῃ κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλελησμένος ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας. καὶ ἔως μὲν πόλεις ἔώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους καὶ 183 ἰδίας, ὑπελάμβανεν ἔλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὄρων Ἐλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς μὲν ὑβριζούμενας τὰς δὲ ἀναστάτους γιγνομένας, δευτὸν ἥγεῖται εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς τῶν προγόνων δόξης τὸ περιορᾶν τοὺς Ἐλληνας καταδουλουμένους. διὸ δέδοκται τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθη- 184 ναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ηρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς, διότι περὶ πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν διατηρεῦν ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας ναῦς καθέλκειν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν ἐντὸς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον τὰς πεζὰς καὶ τὰς ἵππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἐλευσῖνάδε ἐξάγειν, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἐλληνας, πρῶτον δὲ πάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τὸν Φίλιππον τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας, παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν καταπλαγέντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέ- 185 χεοθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ διὸ ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, οὐδὲν μητρικακῶν εἴ τι πρότερον γέγονεν ἀλλότριον ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὅπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὖσιν Ἐλλησι καλόν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερεῖσθαι ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων δόξης καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς. ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον ἥγεῖται εἶναι ὁ 186 Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον οὔτε τῇ συγγενείᾳ οὔτε τῷ

όμοφύλω. ἀναμιμνήσκεται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τὸν Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέους παῖδας ἀποστέρουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρώας ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, τοῖς δπλοῖς κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντιβιώνειν πειρωμένους τοὺς Ἡρακλέους ἐκγόνους, καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν καὶ τὸν μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκπειρόντας ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἔτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν 187 ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς Θηβαίους· διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίους τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων. συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὅρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν. πρέσβεις Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς, Ὑπερείδης Κλεάνδρου Σφῆττιος, Μηνισθείδης Ἀντιφάνους Φρεάρριος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλου Φλυεύς, Κάλλαισχρος Διοτίμου Κοθωκιδῆς.]

188 Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγίγνετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ καὶ κατάστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε

141. 'Ο δ' εἰσάγων ἦν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρείαν συμμαχίας, ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθένης, ἐπεὶ περὶ γε ταύτας τὰς πράξεις τρία τὰ πάντων μέγιστα Δημοσθένης εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔξτιμάρτηκε, πρῶτον μέν, ὅτι Φιλίππου τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι πολεμοῦντος ὑμῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον μισοῦντος Θηβαίους, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα δεδήλωκε, καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πλείω λέγειν; ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος ἀπεκρύψατο, προσποιησάμενος δὲ μέλλειν τὴν συμμαχίαν γενήσεσθαι οὐ διὰ τοὺς καιρούς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ πρεσβείας πρῶτον μὲν συνέπεισε τὸν δῆμον μηκέτι βουλεύεσθαι, 142. ἐπὶ τίσι δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν μόνον, εἰ γίγνεται, τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν ἔκδοτον μὲν τὴν Βοιωτίαν πᾶσαν ἐποίησε Θηβαίους, γράψας ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἐάν τις ἀφιστῆται πόλις ἀπὸ Θηβαίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις, τοῖς ὀνόμασι κλέπτων καὶ μεταφέρων τὰ πράγματα,

τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίη-
σεν ὥσπερ νέφος. ἦμι μὲν τούνν τοῦ δικαίου *ωληγ* [?]
πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν
ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν. ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ 189
ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἔοικότες,
ἐν τούτῳ πλεῦστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν. ὁ μέν
γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ
δίδωσιν αὐτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ,
τῷ καιρῷ, τῷ βουλομένῳ. ὁ δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ’
ἔδει λέγειν, ἂν τι δύσκολον συμβῆ, τοῦτο βα-
σκαίνει. ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἔκεινος ὁ και- 190
ρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ
τῶν δικαίων λόγων. ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν
ποιοῦμαι, ὥστε ἀν νῦν ἔχῃ τις δεῖξαι τι βέλτιον,

ὥσπερ εἰώθεν, ὡς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἔργῳ κακῶς πάσχοντας τὴν τῶν
ὄνομάτων σύνθεσιν τῶν Δημοσθένους ἀγαπήσοντας, ἀλλ’ οὐ μᾶ-
λλον ἐφ’ οὓς κακῶς πεπόνθεσαν ἀγανακτήσοντας. 143. δεύτερον
δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ὑμῶν ἀνέθη-
κεν, οἷς ἡσαν ἀπωτέρω οἱ κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίοις,
δωροδοκῶν ἐφ’ ἕκαστοις τούτων, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν μὲν κατὰ
θάλατταν ἐποίησε κοινήν, τὸ δ’ ἀνάλωμα ἴδιον ὑμέτερον, τὴν δὲ
κατὰ γῆν, εἰ μὴ δεῖ ληρεῖν, ἄρδην φέρων ἀνέθηκε Θηβαίοις, ὥστε
παρὰ τὸν γενόμενον πόλεμον μὴ κύριον γενέσθαι Στρατοκλέα τὸν
ἡμέτερον στρατηγὸν βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν σω-
τηρίας. 144. καὶ ταῦτ’ οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν κατηγορῶ, ἔτεροι δὲ παρα-
λείπουσιν, ἀλλὰ κάγαλ λέγω καὶ πάντες ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ ὑμεῖς σύν-
ιστε καὶ οὐκ ὄργιζεσθε. ἔκεινο γὰρ πεπόνθατε πρὸς Δημοσθένην·
συνείθισθε ἡδη τάδικήματα τὰ τούτου ἀκούειν, ὥστε οὐθαυμά-
ζετε. δεῖ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ’ ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, εἰ χρὴ
τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ πόλει καλῶς ἔχειν.

ἡ ὅλως εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνῆν πλὴν ὡν ἐγὼ προειλόμην,
 ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὁ τι τις νῦν ἔώρα-
 κεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἀν τότε πραχθέν, τοῦτ' ἐγώ
 φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι μήτε
 ἦν μήτ' ἀν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τήμε-
 ρον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἔχρην ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν
 φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων τὰ κράτιστα ἐλέσθαι;
 191 τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος,
 Αἰσχίνη, “τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;” οὐ “τίς
 αἰτιᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων,” οὐδὲ “τίς
 ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντ' ἔσεσθαι.” σοῦ δ' ἀφώ-
 νου κατ' ἔκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
 καθημένου ἐγὼ παριὰν ἔλεγον. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ
 τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον. εἰπὲ τίς ἡ λόγος, ὅντιν
 ἔχρην εὐπορεῖν, ἡ καιρὸς συμφέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
 παρελείφθη τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς
 πρᾶξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει με ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί;
 192 Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθός ἀεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν
 ἀφεῖται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν οὐ-
 δαμοῦ βουλήν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἡ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ
 συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν
 ἥμελλεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ' ἡδη παρῆν,
 ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας,
 μὴ τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας,
 ὡς ἀν ὁ δαιμων βουληθῇ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ
 δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτὴ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν
 193 δηλοῖ. μὴ δὴ τοῦτο ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῆσ, εἰ

κρατήσαι συνέβη Φιλίππων μάχη· ἐν γὰρ τῷ
θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ ἔμοι. ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ
ἀπαντα ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ' ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἰλό-
μην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ
φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ἥτις οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς
πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνεστησάμην καὶ ἀναγ-
καῖα, ταῦτά μοι δεῖξον, καὶ τότ' ἡδη κατηγόρει
μου. εἰ δ' ὁ συμβάς σκηπτὸς μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν 194
ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μείζων
γέγονε, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἀν εἴ τις ναύκλη-
ρον πάντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράξαντα καὶ κατασκευά-
σαντα τὸ πλοῖον ἀφ' ὃν ὑπελάμβανε σωθῆσε-
σθαι, εἴτα χειμῶνι χρησάμενον καὶ πονησάντων
αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν ἥτις καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς
ναυαγίας αἰτιώτο. ἀλλ' οὕτ' ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν,
φήσειεν ἄν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲν ἐστρατήγουν ἔγώ, οὗτε
τῆς τύχης κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων.
// ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο λογίζουν καὶ ὅρα· εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων 195
ἡμῶν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὗτως εὖμαρτο πρᾶξαι, τί
χρῆν προσδοκᾶν, εἰ μηδὲ τούτους ἐσχομεν συμ-
μάχους ἀλλὰ Φιλίππων προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τότ'
ἐκεῖνος πάσας ἀφῆκε φωνάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν
ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν /τῆς μάχης γενο-
μένης τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν
πόλιν, τί ἄν, εἰ που τῆς χώρας ταῦτὸ τοῦτο πάθος
συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι χρῆν; ἀρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι νῦν
μὲν στῆναι, συνελθεῖν, ἀναπνεῦσαι, πολλὰ μία

ήμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει, τότε δ', — οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἀ' γε μηδὲ πεῖραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινος εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τῷ προβάλλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἡς σὺ κατηγορεῖς.

196 *Ἐστι δὲ ταῦτα πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀκροωμένους, ἐπεὶ πρός γε τοῦτον τὸν κατάπτυστον βραχὺς καὶ σαφῆς ἔξήρκει λόγος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχύνη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων, τότ' ἔδει προλέγειν. εἰ δὲ μὴ προήδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς ἡ ἐγὼ σοῦ;

197 τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ πολύτης γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἀ λέγω (καὶ οὕπω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι), ὃσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος, σὺ δὲ οὐθ' ἔτερα εἰπεις βελτίω τούτων (οὐ γὰρ ἀν τούτοις ἔχρωντο) οὗτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν παρέσχεις, ὅπερ δ' ἀν ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἀνθρωπος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσιν ἔξήτασαι, καὶ ἀμα Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ, οἱ καθάπαξ ἔχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχύνης Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖν.

καίτοι ὅτῳ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματα ἐνευδο- 198
 κιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον οὗτός ἔστι
 δίκαιος ἢ κατηγορεῖν ἑτέρου· καὶ ὅτῳ συνενη-
 νόχασικ οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως
 ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτον εὔνουν εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι.
 δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῆς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύῃ
 καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύῃ. πράττεται τι τῶν ὑμῶν
 δοκούντων συμφέρειν; ἄφωνος Αἰσχίνης. ἀντέ-
 κρουστέ τι καὶ γέγονεν οἷον οὐκ ἔδει; πάρεστιν
 Αἰσχίνης, ὥσπερ τὰ ρήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα,
 ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, 199
 βούλομαι τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. καί μου πρὸς
 Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ,
 ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας δὲ λέγω θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν
 ἀπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προ-
 γέδεσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προῦλεγες, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ
 διεμαρτύρου βων καὶ κεκραγώς, δις οὐδὲ ἐφθέγξω,
 οὐδὲ οὐτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴ περ
 ἡ δόξης ἡ προγόνων ἡ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰώνος εἶχε
 λόγον. νῦν μέν γε ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμά- 200
 των, δὲ πᾶσι κοινόν ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ
 ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δὲ ἀξιοῦσα προεστάναι τῶν
 ἀλλων, εἴτε ἀποστάσα τούτου, Φιλίππῳ προδεδω-
 κέναι πάντας ἀν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα
 προεῖτο ἀκονιτί, περὶ δὲ οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὅντιν
 οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν

ἀν σοῦ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεώς γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ.
 201 τίσι δ' ὁφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἑωρῶμεν ἀν τοὺς εἰς
 τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν
 πράγματ' εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ἡγεμὸν δὲ καὶ
 κύριος ἥρεθη Φίλιππος ἀπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἔτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν
 ἥσαν πεποιημένοι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς
 πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν
 ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον
 202 ἥρημένης; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ
 βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ
 τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἵσχυρῶν γενομένων
 Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως
 μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἀν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ
 πόλει, ὃ τι βούλεται λαβούση καὶ τὰ ἔαυτῆς
 ἔχούσῃ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῦν καὶ ἔαν ἔτερον τῶν
 203 Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς
 ἔοικε, τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ
 οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἥδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν
 οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πεῖσαι τοῖς ἵσχύ-
 ουσι μὲν μὴ δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι προσθεμένην
 ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρω-
 τείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύοντα πάντα
 204 τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκεν. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ
 καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἥθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπο-
 λαμβάνετ' εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς
 ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ' ἐπαινεῖτε. εἰκότως·

τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἀν ἀγάσαιτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἱ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευσμένον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι, τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταπτομένοις Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἔζήτουν οἱ τότ' Ἀθηναῖοι 205 οὗτε ῥήτορα οὗτε στρατηγὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύσουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἡξίουν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἔξεσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἡγεῦτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἵμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσαν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήστει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ 206 προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῶν, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐκ ἀν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἡ πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας



τῆς ἐφ' ἑκάστοις τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐμαυτῷ
 207 μετέωναι φημι, οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὅλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ
 κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν ὡς φόβων καὶ
 κινδύνων αἰτίω τῇ πόλει, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν
 τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερήσαι γλίχεται, τὰ δὲ εἰς ἄπαν-
 τα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται.
 εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου
 τουδὶ καταψήφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ
 τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν.
 208 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἀνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ
 σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι
 προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν
 Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι
 ναυμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ
 πολλοὺς ἔτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι
 κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας, οὓς ἄπαντας ὁμοίως

181. "Οτι δὲ ὄρθως λέγω, ἐτι μικρῷ σαφέστερον ὑμᾶς βούλομαι
 διδάξαι. πότερον ὑμῖν ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ
 στρατηγήσας, ὅτ' ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίᾳ τὸν Πέρσην ἐνικάτε,
 ἢ Δημοσθένης ὁ τὴν τάξιν λιπών; Μιλτιάδης δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐν Μα-
 ρυθῶνι μάχην τοὺς βαρβάρους νικήσας, ἢ οὐτος; ἐτι δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ
 Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες; Ἀριστεᾶδης δὲ ὁ δί-
 καιος, ὁ τὴν ἀνόμοιον ἔχων ἐπωνυμίαν Δημοσθένει; 182. ἀλλ'
 ἔγωγε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις
 ἄξιον ἥργονται μεμνῆσθαι τοῦ θηρίου τούτου καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀν-
 δρῶν. ἐπιδειξάτω τοίνυν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ, εἴ που
 γέγραπται τινα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων στεφανώσαται. ἀχάριστος ἀρ' ἦν
 δῆμος; οὐκ, ἀλλὰ μεγαλόφρων, κάκεινοί γε οἱ μὴ τετιμημένοι

ἡ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν,
Αἰσχύνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ
τοὺς κρατήσαντας μόνους. δικαίως· ὃ μὲν γὰρ
ἥν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἄπασι πέπρακται, τῇ
τύχῃ δ', ἥν ὁ δαίμων ἔνειμεν ἐκάστοις, ταῦτη
κέχρημαται. ἔπειτ', ὡς κατάρατε καὶ γραμματοκύ-²⁰⁹
φων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλαν-
θρωπίας ἐμὸν ἀποστερῆσαι βουλόμενος τρόπαια
καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγες, ὡν τίνος προσ-
εδεῖτο ὁ παρὼν ἀγὼν οὗτοσί ; ἐμὲ δέ, ὡς τριτα-
γωνιστά, τὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῇ
πόλει παριόντα τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ' ἀναβάι-
νειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξια
ἔροῦντος; δικαίως μέντος ἀν ἀπέθανον. ἔπειτ²¹⁰
οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δια-
νοίας δεῖ τάς τε ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρί-
νειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβό-
λαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας,
τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων
ἀξιώματα ἀποβλέποντας. καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γε

τῆς πόλεως ἄξιοι· οὐ γὰρ φῶντο δεῦν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τιμᾶσθαι,
ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν εὐ πεπονθότων, ἢ ἀπὸ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου
μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἀθάνατος οὖσα διαμένει. δωρεὰς δὲ τίνας
ἐλάμβανον; ὧν ἄξιόν ἐστι μνησθῆναι. 259. Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ
καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι τελευτήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ
αὐτοὺς τοὺς τάφους τοὺς τῶν προγόνων οὐκ οἰεσθε στενάξειν, εἰ δὲ
μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμολογῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀντιπράττειν στε-
φανωθήσεται;

άμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν ἔκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσια εἰσίητε κριωδῦντες, εἴ περ ἄξια ἐκείνων πράττειν οἱεσθε χρῆναι.

211 Ἐλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἀ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων. ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν, ὁπόθεν ἐνταῦθ' ἔξέβην, βούλομαι.

‘Ως γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ’ εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνομεν Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τοὺς δ’ ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. ὅτι δ’ οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἔνεκα ἐμαυτῷ, λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότ’ ἐπέμψας μεν εὐθὺς οἱ πρέσβεις. καίτοι τοσαύτη γ’ ὑπερβολῇ συκοφαντίας οὗτος κέχρηται, ὥστ’ εἴ μέν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρόν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δ’ ὡς ἐτέρως συμβάντων ἀπάντων ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἴτίαν εἶναι. καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ρήτωρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τοῦ βουλεύσασθαι πρα-

137. Ἐλλ’ οἶμαι, οὕτε Φρυνώνδας οὕτε Εὐρύβατος οὕτ’ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν πάλαι πονηρῶν τοιοῦτος μάγος καὶ γόνις ἐγένετο, ὃς, ὡς γῆ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι ὃσοι βούλεσθε ἀκούειν τἀληθῆ, τολμᾶ λέγειν βλέπων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὡς ἄρα Θηβαῖοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑμῖν ἐποίησαντο οὐ διὰ τὸν καιρόν, οὐ διὰ τὸν φύβον τὸν περιστάντα αὐτούς, οὐ διὰ τὴν ὑμέτεραν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς Δημοσθένους δημηγορίας.

χθέντων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συναίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέκτων μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. πῶς ἂν ὡμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ' ἢ καταρατότερος; Λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

Ἐπειδὴ τούνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἔκκλησίαν, 213
 προσῆγον ἐκείνους προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων τάξιν ἐκείνους ἔχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημητρύοντιν πόλλα μὲν Φίλιππον ἔγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν κατηγοροῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἐναντία ἐπράξατε Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμῆσκοντες. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον, ἡξίουν ὃν μὲν εὗ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀποδούναι, ὃν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἥδικηντο. δίκην λαβεῖν, ὅποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβαλόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ ἔδείκνυσαν, ὡς φοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὃν αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τᾶλλ' ἄγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἥξοντα, ἐκ δὲ ὃν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῦ ἔφασαν τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπασθησόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς ταῦτὰ δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ' ἔλεγον. ἀ δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἔκαστα 214 ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ὃν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου, ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρεληλυθότων τῶν

καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἀν εἰ καὶ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον ὅχλου τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε· ὃ τι δ' οὖν ἐπείσαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμῶν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. Λέγε ταῦτὶ λαβών.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

215 Μετὰ ταῦτα τούνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμποντο. ἔξῆτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τὰν μέσῳ παραλείπω, οὗτως οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὅντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναικας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα. καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἐν μὲν ἀνδρίας, ἔτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μᾶλλον μεθ' ὑμῶν ἦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ δικαιότερό ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν Φιλίππου· καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ἐν πλείστῃ φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ γυναικας, ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσαντες σωφροσύνης πύστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἔδειξαν; ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατάγ' ὑμᾶς ὁρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. οὕτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀδίκως ὑμῶν ἐνεκάλεσεν· οὕτω σωφρονας παρέσχετε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δίς τε συμπαρα-

ταξάμενοι τὰς πρώτας, τήν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν χειμερινήν, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἔδείξατε τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίγνοντο ἐπαινοί, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῦς θεοῖς. καὶ ἔγωγε 217 ἥδεως ἀν ἐρούμην Αἰσχίνην, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο καὶ ζῆλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαίνων ἡ πόλις ἦν μεστή, πότερον συνέθυε καὶ συνευφράίνετο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἡ λυπούμενος καὶ στένων καὶ δυσμεναίων τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἴκοι καθῆτο. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρῆν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔξητάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲ ὅσια, εἰ ὁν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦ ψηφίσασθαι, 2. | τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας τοὺς θεούς; εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῆν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δίκαιος, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπεῖτο ὄρῶν; Λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἡμεν τότε, Θηγ 218 βαῖοι δ' ἐν τῷ δὶ ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιειστήκει τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι νομίζουσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἐπραττον οὗτοι, αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἐτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητ' ἔμοι. ἀλλὰ μὴν οἵας τότ' ἡφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν οἵαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τού-

τοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὅν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπεν. καὶ μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβών, ὃν εἰδῆτε, ἡ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ ταλαιπωρίαι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ψηφίσματα, ἂν νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο.

219 Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγόνασι ρήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος, ἔτεροι μυρίοι· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἀν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων οὐκ ἀν ἔγραψεν. ὑπέλειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ ἄμα μὲν ράστω-
220 νην, ἄμα δ', εἴ τι γένοιτ', ἀναφοράν. τί οὖν; εἴποι τις ἄν, σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερῆρας ρώμη καὶ τόλμη ὥστε πάντα ποιεῦν αὐτός; οὐ ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' οὗτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἐδόκει μοι χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἴδιας ἀσφαλείας διδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν πα-
221 ραλείπων τις ἀ δεῖ πράξειεν. ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ, τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσμην, μήτε γράφοντ' ἀν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μηδένα, μήτε πράττοντα πρᾶξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι προθυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιότερον. διὰ ταῦτα ἐν πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἔταττον. λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, 222
 Αἰσχύνη· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῦνος ἀφῆκε, πολ-
 λοὺς καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαι-
 ρόμενος λόγους. ἀνθ' ὃν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην
 ὑπὸ τουτωνί, καὶ σὺ παρὼν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ
 γραψάμενος Διώνδας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ
 ἔλαβεν. Καί μοι λαβὲ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ
 ἀποπεφευγότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ', ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς 223
 αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ ταῦτα ῥήματ' ἔχει, ἅπερ πρό-
 τερον μὲν Ἀριστόνικος νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν
 οὗτοσί. καὶ ταῦτ' Αἰσχύνης οὕτ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς
 οὗτε τῷ γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησεν. καίτοι τότε
 τὸν Δημομέλη τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν Ὄπε-
 ρείδην, εἴ περ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον
 ἀν εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷδε 224
 μὲν ἔστ' ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικα-
 στηρίων γνώσεις καὶ τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ
 κατηγορηκέναι ταῦτα γραψάντων ἅπερ οὗτος νῦν,
 καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους μηκέτ' ἐᾶν περὶ τῶν θύτω πρα-
 χθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἔτερα· τότε δ'
 αὐτὸς τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἀν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, πρίν τι
 τούτων προλαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν οἶμαι τότε ὁ νυνὶ 225

ποιεῖν, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἔκλεξαντα, ἢ μήτε προήδει μηδεὶς μήτ' ἀνῳγθῆ τήμερον ῥηθῆναι, διαβάλλειν, καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοὺς πεπραγμένους δοκεῖν
 226 τι λέγειν. οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔκαστα ἔχοντων, πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἀν οἱ λόγοι. διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους φυγὰν νῦν ἡκει, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἔξετασιν ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς, καὶ λόγου κρίσιν, οὐχὶ τοῦ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντος ἔσεσθαι.

227 Εἴτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶν προσήκειν ἃς μὲν οἴκοθεν ἡκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελῆσαι,

59. Εἰ δέ τισιν ὑμῶν ἔξαίφνης ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέπτωκεν ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος, ἐκείνως τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ποιήσασθε ἀκρόασιν, ὥσπερ ὅταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου κιθεζώμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμούς. Ἐρχόμεθα δή που ψευδεῖς οἴκοθεν ἐνίστε δόξας ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὰν ὁ λογισμὸς συγκεφαλαιωθῆ, οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ἔστιν οὕτω δύσκολος τὴν φύσιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ' ὅμολογήσας καὶ ἐπινεύσας ἀληθές εἶναι ὃ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἴρῃ. 60. Οὕτω καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιήσασθε. εἴ τινες ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων ἥκουσιν οἴκοθεν τοιαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν πώποτε εἴρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου συντάς μετὰ Φιλοκράτους, — ὅστις οὕτω διάκειται, μήτ' ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν μήτε καταγνώτω πρὶν ἀκούσῃ· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον.

ώσπερ δ', ὅταν οἱόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τῷ λογίζησθε, ἀν καθαιρῶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῆ, συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέσθαι. θεάσασθε τούνυν ὡς σαθρόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ φύσει πᾶν ὃ τι ἀν μὴ δικαίως ἥ πεπραγμένον. ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ 228 σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος ὡμολόγηκε νῦν γ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου· οὐ γὰρ ἀν μεταπείθειν ὑμᾶς ἐζήτει μὴ τοιαύτης οὕσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ ἑκατέρου. καὶ 229 μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει μεταθέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥᾳδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὃ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος λογισμός) ἀλλ' ἀναμιμνήσκων ἔκαστα ἐν βραχέσι, λογισταῖς ἄμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῶν χρώμενος. ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἡς οὗτος κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίους μετὰ Φιλίππου συνεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες φῶντο, μεθ' 230 ἡμῶν παραταξαμένους ἐκείνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι ἐπακόσια στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν δρίοις γενέσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς ληστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχειν Φίλιππον, λαβόντα Βυζάντιον, συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς Βυζαντίους

231 μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. ἀρά σοι ψήφοις ὅμοιος
ό τῶν ἔργων λογισμὸς φαίνεται; η δεῦν ἀντα-
νελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπως τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον
μνημονευθῆσεται σκέψασθαι; καὶ οὐκέτι προσ-
τίθημι ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὀμότητος, ἦν ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ
τινῶν κύριος κατέστη Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἵδεν, ἐτέ-
ροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας,
ἥν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνος περιβαλλό-
μενος ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρ-
ποὺς κεκόμισθε. ἀλλ' ἔώ ταῦτα.

232 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν
ρήτορα βουλόμενος δικαίως ἔξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συ-
κοφαντεῖν οὐκ ἀν οīα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα
κατηγόρει, παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ρήματα
καὶ σχῆματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο,
οὐχ ὄρφς; γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ
ρῆμα ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἔγώ, η δευρὶ τὴν
233 χεῖρα ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνεγκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν
τῶν ἔργων ἀν ἐσκόπει, τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἡ
πόλις καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματα
εἰσήσειν, καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ'
ἐπιστὰς ἔγώ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων.
εἴτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ'
ἔμοὶ τάδικημ' ἀν ἐδείκνυνε ὅν, εἰ δὲ πολλῷ μεί-
ζους, οὐκ ἀν ἐσυκοφάντει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο

Cf. *Aesch.* §§ 166 and 167, cited on page 58.

πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως
χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις τοὺς νησιώ²³⁴
τας, οὐχ ἄπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους·
οὗτε γὰρ Χίος οὗτε Ῥόδος οὗτε Κέρκυρα μεθ'
ἡμῶν ἦν· χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ
τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξειλε-
γμένα· ὅπλίτην δ', ἵππεα πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων οὐ-
δένα. ὃ δὲ πάντων καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ μάλισθ'
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔχθρων, οὗτοι παρεσκευάκεσσαν τοὺς
περιχώρους πάντας ἔχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω,
Μεγαρεῖς, Θηβαίους, Εὐβοέας. τὰ μὲν τῆς πό²³⁵
λεως οὔτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀν ἔχοι
παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίπ-
που, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῶν ὁ ἀγών, σκέψασθε πῶς.
πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτο-
κράτωρ, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν
ἀπάντων· εἴθ' οὗτοι τὰ ὅπλα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερ-
σὶν ἀεί· ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπραττεν
ἄ δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν,
οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς
φεύγων παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὥν οὐδενί,
ἄλλ' ἀπλῶς αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἥγεμών, κύριος
πάντων. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος²³⁶
(καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔξετάσαι δίκαιον) τίνος κύριος ἦν;
οὐδενός· αὐτὸς γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὐ
μόνον μετεῖχον ἐγώ, ἐξ ἵσου προύτιθεθ' ὑμεῖς

τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ ἔμοι, καὶ ὅσα οὗτοι περιγένοντο ἔμοῦ (πολλὰ δ' ἐγίγνετο ταῦτα, δι' ἣν ἔκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν), ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ 237 τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἀπῆτε βεβουλευμένοι. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων ἐγὼ συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῶν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιούς, Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκαδίους, Κερκυραίους, ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι δ' ἵππεῖς ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων συνήχθησαν· χρημάτων δέ, ὅσων ἡδυνήθην ἐγώ, πλείστην στην συντέλειαν ἐποίησα. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἡ τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, Αἰσχύνη, ἡ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους ἡ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἡ περὶ τῶν ἵσων νυνὶ διαλέγη, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρων, τριακοσίων οὖσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἡ πόλις παρέσχετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλαττοῦντοθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντας οὐδὲ ἀγανακτοῦσα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐωράτο (αἰσχρὸν γάρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα χάριν, εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ἑλλησι περιστάντος αὐτὴν διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων 238 σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο. εἴτα κενὰς χαρίζῃ χάριτας τουτοισὶ συκοφαντῶν ἔμε. τί γὰρ νῦν λέγεις οἵα ἔχρην πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότ' ὧν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὼν ταῦτ' ἔγραφες, εἰ περ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσα ἡβουλόμεθα

239 σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο.

ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίη τὰ πράγματ' ἔδει δέχεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαυνομένους προσδεξόμενος καὶ χρήμata προσθήσων ὑπῆρχεν ἔτοιμος.

'Αλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας 240 ἔχω, τί ἀν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότ' ἔμοῦ περὶ τούτων ἀκριβολογουμένου ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο Φιλίππω, καὶ ἂμα Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη, τί ποιεῦν ἀν ἢ τί λέγειν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί; οὐχ ὡς ἐξεδόθη 241 σταν, ἀπηλάθησαν, βουλόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι; εἴτα τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατὴς καθέστηκε, καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριος, πόλεμος δ' ὄμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκόμισται, ἄπλους δ' ἡ θάλαττα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὄρμωμένων ληστῶν γέγονεν; οὐκ ἀν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλά γε πρὸς τούτοις ἔτερα; πονηρόν, ὃ ἄνδρες 242 Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλαύτιον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος τάνθρωπιόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ' ἔλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, παράσημος ρήγτωρ. τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης εἰς ὅνησιν ἥκει πατρίδι; νῦν ἡμῶν λέγεις περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων; ὡσπερ 243 ἀν εἴ τις ἴατρὸς ἀσθενοῦσι μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν εἰσιὰν μὴ λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι δι' ὃν ἀποφεύξον-

ται τὴν νόσον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτήσειέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα διεξίοι “εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὗτοσί, οὐκ ἀν ἀπέθανεν.” ἐμβρόντητε, εἴτα νῦν λέγεις;

244 Οὐ τούνν οὐδὲ τὴν ἦτταν, εἰ ταύτῃ γαυριᾶς ἐφ' ἃ στένειν σε, ὡς κατάρατε, προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδεὶ τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ γεγονοῦνταν εὑρήσετε τῇ πόλει. οὔτωσὶ δὲ λογίζεσθε. οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτὴς ἐπέμφθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγώ, ἥτηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου πρέσβεων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν, οὐ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶών κατε-
245 στρέφετο. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν ἔνα ὄντα κρείττω γενεόσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις; τύνος γὰρ ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γε ἔκάστου

225. Ἔπειτα ἐπερωτᾶν με, ὡς ἐγὼ πινθάνομαι, μέλλει, τίς ἀν εἴη τοιοῦτος ἴατρός, δοτις τῷ νοσοῦντι μεταξὺ μὲν ἀσθενοῦντι μηδὲν συμβουλεύοι, τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐλθῶν εἰς τὰ ἔνατα διεξίοι πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους, ἢ ἐπιτηδεύσας ὑγιῆς ἀν ἐγένετο.

226. σαυτὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντερωτᾶς, τίς ἀν εἴη δημαγωγὸς τοιοῦτος, δοτις τὸν μὲν δῆμον θωπεύνσαι δύνατο, τοὺς δὲ καιρούς, ἐν οἷς ἦν σώζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀποδοῖτο.

ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμένων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας, ἃς ἔμ' ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· οὗτως καιδὸς εἰ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅν γ' ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος 246 εἴη, πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνετε· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. τίνα οὖν ἔστι ταῦτα; ἵδεν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα καὶ προαισθέσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα πέπρακταί μοι. καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἑκασταχοῦ βραδυτῆτας ὄκνους ἀγνοίας φιλονεικίας, ἢ πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι πρόσεστιν ἀπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἀμαρτήματα, ταῦθ' ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστα συστεῖλαι, καὶ τούναντίον εἰς ὅμονοιαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὅρμὴν προτρέψαι. καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποίηται, καὶ οὐδὲν μή ποθ' εὔρη κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ τούννυν τις ἔροιτο ὄντι 247 νοῦν, τίσι τὰ πλεῖστα Φιλίππος ὅν κατέπραξε διωκήσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὕτε κύριος οὐθ' ἡγεμὼν ἦν ἐγώ, ὥστε οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ μὴν τῷ διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασιν ἢ μὴ κεκράτηκα Φιλίππου· ὥσπερ

152. ἐτόλμησε τοῖς δραπέταις ποσὶ καὶ λελοιπόσι τὴν τάξιν ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετήν. 155. ὅτι τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα, εἰ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἀνήρ, στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα τὸν κάκιστον καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἔνεκα τὸν ἀνανδρον καὶ λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν. 159. ὅτι Δημοσθένης οὐ τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μόνον τάξιν ἐλίπειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

γὰρ ὁ ὡνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα, ἐὰν πρίται, οὗτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ διαφθαρεὶς νενίκηκε τὸν ὡνούμενον. ὥστε ἀήττητος ἡ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἔμε.

248 Ἄ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμην εἰς τὸ δικαίως τοιαῦτα γράφειν τοῦτον περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοὺς ἑτέροις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἔστιν, ἀδ' οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς, ταῦτ' ἡδη λέξω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακὼς πάντα ὅσα ἔπραττον ἐγώ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκώς, ἡνίκ' οὐδὲ ἀγνωμονῆσαι τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἔχειροτόνει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἔνεκα ἐπράττετο, ἡ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τείχη χρήμata, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο· ἔπειθ' αἴρούμενος σιτώνην ἐκ πάν-

249 των ἐμὲ ἔχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συστάντων οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῶ, καὶ γραφὰς εὐθύνας εἰσαγγελίας πάντα ταῦτ' ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ δι' ὃν μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι (ἴστε γὰρ δήπου καὶ μέμνησθε ὅτι τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκρινόμην ἐγώ, καὶ οὕτ' ἀπόνοια Σωσικλέους οὗτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκράτους οὗτε Διώνδου καὶ Μελάντου μανία οὕτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν

τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεούς, δεύτερον δὲ δὶ' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἐσωζόμην. δικαίως τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἔστι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων καὶ γνόντων τὰ εὔορκα δικαστῶν. οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰστηγγελλόμην, ὅτ' 250 ἀπεψήφιζεσθέ μου καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψῆφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε, τότ' ἐψηφίζεσθε τὰ ἄριστά με πράττειν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέφευγον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμην· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπεσημάνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ ἀδωροδοκήτως πάντα πεπράχθαι μοι προσωμολογεῖτε. τούτων οὖν οὗτως ἔχόντων τί προσῆκον ἢ τί δίκαιον ἢν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα, οὐχ ὁ τὸν δῆμον ἔώρα τιθέμενον, οὐχ ὁ τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας δικαστάς, οὐχ ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιοῦσαν;

Ναί, φησίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλόν, τὸ 251 μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φεύγειν. καὶ νὴ Δί' εὐδαιμόν γε. ἀλλὰ τί μᾶλλον ὁ πολλάκις μὲν φυγὼν μηδεπώποτε δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἀν διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρός γε τοῦ-

194. Ἐτόλμα δ' ἐν ὑμῖν ποτε σεμνύνεσθαι Ἀριστοφῶν ἐκεῖνος δ Ἀζηνιεὺς λέγων, ὅτι γραφὰς παρανόμων πέφευγεν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ὁ Κέφαλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δοκῶν δημοτικώτατος γεγονέναι, οὐχ οὗτος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο, λέγων, ὅτι πλεῖστα πάντων γεγραφὼς ψηφίσματα σύδεμίαν πώποτε γραφὴν πέφευγε παρανόμων, καλῶς, οἶμαι, σεμνυνόμενος.

τον, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν ἔστι μοι· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδίωξε γραφήν, ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὀμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.

252 Πανταχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἂν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἡκιστα δ' ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μέν, ὅστις ἀνθρωπος ὢν ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην προφέρει, ἀνόητον ἥγονται· ἦν γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ οἰδεν, εἴ μενει τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας, πῶς χρὴ περὶ ταύτης λέγειν ἦ πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἐτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως χρῆται τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθ', ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρήσατε ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς τύχης 253 τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι. Υἱέγὼ τὴν τῆς πόλεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἥγονται, καὶ ταῦθ' ὅρῳ καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ὑμῖν μαντευόμενον, τὴν μέντοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἦ νῦν ἐπέχει, χαλεπὴν καὶ δεινήν· τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἦ τίς βαρβάρων οὐ 254 πολλῶν κακῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεπείραται; τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰηθέντων Ἑλλήνων, εἴ πρόοιντο ἡμᾶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ διάξειν, αὐτῶν ἀμεινον πράττειν τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι καὶ μὴ πάνθ' ὡς ἥβουλόμεθ' ἡμῖν

συμβῆναι τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ
ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος μετειληφέναι νομίζω
τὴν πόλιν. τὴν δ' ἵδιαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν 255
ἐνὸς ἡμῶν ἑκάστου ἐν τοῖς ἵδιοις ἔξετάζειν δίκαιουν
εἶναι νομίζω. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐτωσὶ περὶ τῆς τύχης
ἀξιῶ, ὅρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὡς ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ, νομίζω
δὲ καὶ ὑμῶν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἵδιαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν τῆς
κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν εἶναι φησι, τὴν
μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης.
καὶ πῶς ἔνι τοῦτο γενέσθαι;

Καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἔξετά- 256
ζειν, Αἰσχύνη, προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ σκόπει,
κἄν εὑρῃς τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίω τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοι-
δορούμενος αὐτῇ. σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθὺς ἔξ ἀρχῆς.
καί μου πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίᾳν ψυχρότητα καταγνῶ
μηδείς. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὗτ' εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει,
νοῦν ἔχειν ἥγοῦμαι, οὗτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τρα-
φεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνεται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς του-
τούνι τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας καὶ συκοφαντίας
εἰς τοιούτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς
ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὡς ἀν δύνωμαι μετριώτata χρή-
σομαι.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχύνη, παιδὶ τὰ 257
προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ τὸν
μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα δι' ἐνδειαν, ἔξελθόντι
δὲ ἐκ παύδων ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χορη-
γεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας

μήτε ἵδιας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῦ ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα ἐλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπὸ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλάκις ἐστεφανώσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐ καλά γ' ἦν ἂν προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῦ λέγειν.

258 ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτῃ συμβεβίωκα τύχῃ, καὶ πόλλ' ἀν ἔχων ἔτερ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπῆσαί τινα ἐν οἷς σεμνίνομαι. σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνυνόμενος ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην ποίᾳ τινὶ κέχρησαι τύχῃ, δι' ἦν παῖς μὲν ὅν μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφης, ἀμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου

259 τάξιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τάλλα συνεσκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν “ἔφυγον κακόν, εὑρον ἄμεινον,” ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικοῦτ' δλολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος

260 (καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, δλολύζειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον), ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους

ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὄδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν εὐοῖ σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ὅης ἄττης ἄττης ὅης, ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγεμὸν καὶ κιτοφόρος καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γρᾳδίων προσαγορευόμενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἐνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἀν ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εὑδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφης ὁπωσ- 261 δήποτε, ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ γ' ἐνεγράφης, εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον ἔξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδόις, ὡς δ' ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτου, πάνθ' ἀ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ κατήσχυνας μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν τῶν προϋπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν τοῖς βαρυστόνοις 262 ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμύλῳ καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ ἐλάσ συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων ἦ τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγωνύζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἀσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ὃν πολλὰ τραύματ' εἴληφὼς εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων ὡς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ πα- 263 ρεὶς ὃν τὴν πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ' ἀν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ

τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατηγορήματα.
 τοιαύτην γάρ εἰλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδή ποτε καὶ
 τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι᾽ ἣν εὐτυχούσης μὲν
 τῆς πατρίδος λαγὼ βίον ἔζης δεδιώς καὶ τρέμων
 καὶ ἀεὶ πληγήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαυτῷ
 συνήδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἡτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι,
 264 θρασὺς ὧν ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὥψαι. καύτοι ὅστις χι-
 λίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρησε, τί οὗτος
 παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιος ἐστιν; / πολλὰ
 τοίνυν ἔτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω·
 οὐ γάρ ὅσ' ἀν δείξαιμι προσόντ' αἰσχρὰ τούτῳ
 καὶ ὀνείδη, πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς λέγειν ἀλλ'
 ὅσα μηδὲν αἰσχρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί.

265 Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κάμοὶ
 βεβιωμένα, πράως, μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἴτ'
 ἐρώτησον τουτουσὶ τὴν ποτέρου τύχην ἀν ἔλοιθ·
 ἔκαστος αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἔγὼ δ'
 ἐφοίτων. ἐτέλεις, ἔγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. ἐγραμμά-
 τευεις, ἔγὼ δ' ἡκκλησίαζον. ἐτριταγωνίστεις,
 ἔγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν. ἐξέπιπτεις, ἔγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον.
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι πάντα, ἔγὼ δ'
 266 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἐῶ τάλλα, ἀλλὰ νυνὶ τήμε-
 ρον ἔγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμά-
 ζομαι, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι,
 σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντη μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει, κιν-
 δυνεύεις δὲ εἴτε δεῖ σ' ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἥδη
 πεπαῦσθαι μὴ μεταλαβόντα τὸ πέμπτον μέρος

τῶν ψήφων. ἀγαθῆ γε, οὐχ ὄρᾶς; τύχῃ συμβεβιωκὰς τῆς ἐμῆς κατηγορεῖς.

Φέρε δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας, ²⁶⁷ ὃν λελειτούργηκα, ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ· παρ' ἂς παράγνωθι καὶ σύ μοι τὰς ῥήσεις ἂς ἐλυμαίνου,

ἢκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας
καὶ

κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἵσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,

καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοί, ἔπειτα οὗτοι πάντες ἀπολέστειαν, πονηρὸν ὅντα καὶ πολύτην καὶ τριταγωνιστήν.

Λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος. ²⁶⁸ ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἴδιοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἵστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ οὐδὲν ἄν εἴποιμι οὐδὲ παρασχούμην περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, οὕτ’ εἰ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, οὕτ’ εἰ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὕτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπείληφα. ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα ²⁶⁹ δεῖν μεμιησθαι πάντα τὸν χρόνον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῦν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. τὸ δὲ τὰς ἴδιας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν ὅμοιόν ἔστι τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. οὐ

δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι,
ἀλλ’ ὅπως ποθ’ ὑπεῖλημμαι περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ
μοι.

270 Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἴδιων ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἔτι μικρὰ
πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ
ἔχεις, Αἰσχύνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν
ἀνθρώπων ὁστις ἀθῷος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον
καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἦ
271 τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῷ
σοι τὴν ἐμὴν εἴτε τύχην εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομά-
ζειν βούλει πάντων αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι. εἰ δὲ
καὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ’ ἴδοντων ἐμὲ μηδὲ φωνὴν
ἀκηκοότων ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόν-
θασι, μὴ μόνον κατ’ ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι
καὶ ἔθνη, πόσῳ δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν
ἀπάντων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν καὶ
φοράν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπὴν καὶ οὐχ οἷαν
272 ἔδει τούτων αἰτίαν ἥγεισθαι; σὺ τούννυν ταῦτ’
ἀφεὶς ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ τουτοισὶ πεπολιτευμένον αἰ-
τιᾶ, καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος
γ’ ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἀπασι, καὶ μάλι-
στα σοί. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν αὐτο-
κράτωρ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐβούλευόμην, ἦν ἀν
273 τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ αἰτιᾶσθαι· εἰ δὲ
παρῆτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπάσαις, ἀεὶ δ’
ἐν κοινῷ τὸ συμφέρον ἡ πόλις προύτιθει σκοπεῖν,
πᾶσι δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐδόκει τότ’ ἄριστ’ εἶναι, καὶ μάλι-

στα σοί (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὔνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων καὶ ζῆλου καὶ τιμῶν, ἀ πάντα προσῆν τοῖς τότε πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡττώμενος δηλονότι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν βέλτιον), πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς τούτοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν, ὃν τότε οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίω; παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὅρῳ 274 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀδικεῖ τις ἔκών; ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατὰ τούτου. ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων; συγγνώμην ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτῳ. οὗτ' ἀδικῶν τις οὗτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν ἔαυτὸν δοὺς οὐ κατώρθωσε μεθ' ἀπάντων; οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ δίκαιουν, ἀλλὰ συνάχθεσθαι. φανήσεται ταῦτα 275 πάντα οὕτως οὐ μόνον τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νομίμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἥθεσι διώρικεν. Αἰσχύνης τοίνυν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληκεν ἀπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὡμότητι καὶ συκοφαντίᾳ ὥστε καὶ ὃν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀτυχημάτων ἐμέμηντο, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.

Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς καὶ 276 μετ' εὔνοίας πάντας εἰρηκὼς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν ἐμὲ καὶ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι μηδ' ἐξαπατήσω, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων, ὡς ἐὰν πρότερός τις εἴπῃ τὰ προσόνθ' ἔαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου,

καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὗτως ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκού-
οντας σκεψόμενους τίς ποτ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα
λέγων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον ἄπαν-
τες, καὶ πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἡ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε
277 ταῦτα προσεῖναι. κάκεινο εὖ οἶδ', ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν
δεινότητα — ἔστω γάρ. καίτοι ἔγωγ' ὅρῳ τῆς
τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ πλεῖ-
στον κυρίους· ὡς γὰρ ἀν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε καὶ
πρὸς ἔκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, οὗτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε
φρονεῖν. εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστι καὶ παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμ-
πειρία τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εύρήσετε πάντες ἐν
τοῖς κοινοῖς ἔξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀεὶ καὶ
οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν οὐδὲν ιδίᾳ, τὴν δὲ τούτου
τούναντίον οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔχθρῶν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι τοῦτον ἡ προσέκρουσέ
που, κατὰ τούτων. οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδὲ
278 ἐφ' ἂ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρῆται. οὔτε γὰρ τὴν
ὅργην οὔτε τὴν ἔχθραν οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν τοι-
ούτων τὸν καλὸν κάγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ
τῶν κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς ἀξιοῦν αὐτῷ
βεβαιοῦν, οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι,
ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ φύσει,
εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, πράως καὶ μετρίως διακείμεν
ἔχειν. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν πολι-
τευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν ὅλων
τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τοὺς
ἐναντίους ἐστὶ τῷ δῆμῳ, ἐν τούτοις· ταῦτα γὰρ



γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδι- 279
κήματος πώποτε δημοσίου, προσθήσω δὲ μηδ'
ἰδίου, δίκην ἀξιώσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ μήθ'
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ
ἐπαίνου κατηγορίαν ἥκειν συνεσκευασμένον, καὶ
τοσουτουσὶ λόγους ἀνηλωκέναι ιδίας ἔχθρας καὶ
φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον, οὐδενὸς
χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν
ἀγῶνας ἔασαντα νῦν ἐπὶ τόνδ' ἥκειν καὶ πᾶσαν
ἔχει κακίαν. καί μοι δοκεῖ ἐκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, 280
λόγων ἐπίδειξίν τινα καὶ φωνασκίας βουλόμενος
ποιήσασθαι τοῦτον προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ
ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. ἐστι δ'
οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ρήτορος, Αἰσχίνη, τίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ
τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα προαιρένσθαι
τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φι-
λεῖν οὖσπερ ἀνὴρ πατρίς. ὁ γὰρ οὗτως ἔχων τὴν 281
ψυχήν, οὗτος ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ πάντ' ἔρει· ὁ δὲ ἀφ' ἀν-
ὴρ πόλις προορᾶται τινα κίνδυνον ἔαυτη, τούτους
θεραπεύων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄρμεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς,
οὐκον οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσ-
δοκίαν. ἀλλ', ὅρᾶς; ἐγώ· ταῦτα γὰρ συμφέ-
ρονθ' εἰλόμην τουτοισί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔξαιρετον οὐδ'
ἴδιον πεποίημαι. ἀρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; 282
ὅς εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτὴς ἐπορεύουν
πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὃς ἦν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις
συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀρνού-

μενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον ταύτην τὴν
χρείαν, ὡς πάντες ἵσασιν. καίτοι τίς ὁ τὴν πό-
λιν ἐξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ μὴ λέγων ἄφρονεῖ; τῷ
δ' ὁ κῆρυξ καταράται δικαίως; οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ;
τί δὲ μεῖζον ἔχοι τις ἀν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα κατ' ἀν-
δρὸς ρήγτορος ἢ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει;
283 σὺ τοίνυν οὗτος εὑρέθης. εἴτα σὺ φθέγγῃ καὶ
βλέπειν εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα τολμᾶς; πότερ
οὐχ ἡγεῖ γιγνώσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἰ; ἢ τοσοῦ-
τον ὕπνον καὶ λήθην ἀπαντας ἔχειν ὥστ' οὐ
μεμνῆσθαι τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ
πολέμῳ, καταρώμενος καὶ διομνύμενος μηδὲν
εἶναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν
αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν τῆς ἴδιας ἐνεκ' ἔχθρας,
284 οὐκ οὖσαν ἀληθῆ; ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ'
ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας εὐθέως ὠμολό-
γεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναι σοι
πρὸς αὐτόν, τῇ μισθαρνύᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος
τὰ ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἵστης ἢ δικαίας προ-
φάσεως Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανι-
στρίας ξένος ἢ φύλος ἢ γνώριμος ἢν Φίλιππος;
ἔγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ
τουτωνὶ συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως
οὗτοι φανερῶς αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ
κατὰ σαυτοῦ μηνυτὴς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσι γεγο-
νὼς ἐμοὶ λοιδορεῖ καὶ ὀνειδίζεις ταῦτα, ὃν πάν-
τας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὑρήσεις.

Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη, 285
καὶ προείλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι’ ἐμοῦ, ὃν οὐκ
ἡμνημόνησεν. σημεῖον δέ· χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ
δῆμος τὸν ἔροῦντ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ’
αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα οὐ σὲ ἔχειροτόνησε προβλη-
θέντα, καίπερ εὐφωνον ὅντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι
πεποιηκότα τὴν εἰρήνην, οὐδ’ ‘Ηγήμονα, οὐδ’
ἄλλον ὄμῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλ’ ἐμέ. καὶ παρελθόντος
σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους ὄμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὃ Ζεύς
καὶ θεοί, καὶ κατηγορούντων ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἂν καὶ
σὺ νυνί, καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτ’ ἀμεινον ἔχειρο-
τόνησεν ἐμέ. τὸ δ’ αἴτιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς μέν, ὅμως 286
δὲ φράσω σοι κάγω. ἀμφότερ’ ἥδεσαν αὐτοί,
τήν τ’ ἐμὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν, μεθ’ ἣς τὰ
πράγματα· ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὄμετέραν ἀδικίαν·
ἄγαρ εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἡρνεῖσθε διο-
μινύμενοι, ταῦτ’ ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις ὄμολο-
γήσατε. τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν
ῶν ἐφρόνουν λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἔχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι,
φανεροὺς δὲ τόθ’ ἡγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι.
εἴτα καὶ προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν ἔροῦντ’ 287
ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν
κοσμήσοντα μήθ’ ὁμωρόφιον μήθ’ ὁμόσπονδον
γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους παραταξα-
μένοις, μηδ’ ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν
ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ‘Ελλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν αὐτο-
χείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ’ ἐλθόντα τιμᾶσθαι,

μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν ὑποκρινομένους τὴν
ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν. τοῦτο
δ’ ἔώρων παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ’ ἐμοί, παρὰ δ’
νῦμνον οὐ. διὰ ταῦτ’ ἐμὲ ἔχειροτόνησαν καὶ οὐχ
288 νῦμᾶς. καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὗτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν
τετελευτηκότων πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ
δήμου τόθ’ αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄλλως
πως, ἀλλὰ δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περίδειπνον ὡς
παρ’ οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τάλλῳ
εἴωθε γύγνεσθαι, τοῦτ’ ἐποίησαν παρ’ ἐμοί. εἰκό-
τως· γένει μὲν γὰρ ἔκαστος ἔκάστῳ μᾶλλον
οἰκεῖος ἦν ἐμοῦ, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν οὐδεὶς ἔγγυτέρω·
ῳ γὰρ ἔκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι μά-
λιστα διέφερεν, οὗτος καὶ παθόντων ἀ μή ποτ’
ἀφελον τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων λύπης πλεῖστον με-
τεῖχεν.

289 Λέγε δ’ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὁ δημοσίᾳ
προεύλετο ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἵν’ εἰδῆς,
Αἰσχύνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα
καὶ συκοφάντην ὅντα καὶ μιαρόν. Λέγε.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

Οἵδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο
ὅπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὑβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.
μαρνάμενοι δ’ ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
ψυχάς, ἀλλ’ Ἀΐδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆ,
οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες
δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὑβριν.

γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλπους τῶν πλεῦστα καμόντων
σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἥδε κρίσις·
μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἔστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν
ἐν βιοτῇ, μοῖραν δ' οὐ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.

Ἄκοντες, Αἰσχύνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, ὡς τὸ 290
μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἔστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν
οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνι-
ζομένους ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί
οὖν, ὡς κατάρατ', ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορεῖ, καὶ
λέγεις ἂ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῦς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς
κεφαλήν;

Πολλὰ τοίνυν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλα 291
κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, μά-
λιστ' ἔθαύμασα πάντων, ὅτε τῶν συμβεβήκοτων
τότε τῇ πόλει μνησθεὶς οὐχ ὡς ἀν ἐννους καὶ
δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδὲν ἔδακρυ-
σεν, οὐδὲν ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ'
ἔπάρας τὴν φωνὴν καὶ γεγηθώς καὶ λαρυγγίζων
ῳετο μὲν ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῦν δηλονότι, δεῖγμα δ'
ἔξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνια-
ροῖς οὐδὲν ὅμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς ἄλλοις. καίτοι τὸν 292
τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα φροντί-
ζειν, ὥσπερ οὗτος νυνί, καὶ εἴ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτό
γ' ἔχειν δεῖ, ταῦτα λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτα χαίρειν
τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν
ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι. ὁ σὺ νυνὶ
πεποιηκὼς εἴ φανερός, ἐμὲ πάντων αἴτιον καὶ δι'

έμει εἰς πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν,
οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως
293 ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησι βοηθεῦν, ἐπεὶ
ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς
ἡναυτιώσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πρατ-
τομένῃ, μείζων ἀν δοθείη δωρεὰ συμπασῶν ὡν
τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. ἀλλ' οὗτ' ἀν ἐγὼ ταῦτα
φήσαιμι (ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἀν ὑμᾶς), οὗτ' ἀν ὑμεῖς
εὖ οἴδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσατε· οὗτός τ' εἰ δίκαια
ἐποίει, οὐκ ἀν ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθρας τὰ
μέγιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέ-
βαλλεν.

294 Ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῷ σχετλιώτερα
ἄλλα κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου;
ὅς γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμόν, ὃ γῆ καὶ θεοί, κατη-
γορεῖ, τί οὗτος οὐκ ἀν εἴποι; καίτοι νὴ τὸν
Ἡρακλέα καὶ πάντας θεούς, εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας
δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι, τὸ καταψεύδεσθαι καὶ δι'
ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς
ἀληθῶς εἰσιν οἵς ἀν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως τὴν
τῶν γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνα-
θεῖεν ἄπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ παρ' ἐκάστη
295 τῶν πόλεων εὔροιτ' ἀν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί· οἱ δέ τὴν
ἀσθενή τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῇ μικρά,
πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων
καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτιστα, τῆς ἴδιας ἔνεκ'
αἰσχροκερδείας τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προίεντο,

τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἔκαστοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες
 καὶ διαφθείροντες, ὡς δούλους ἐποίησαν, Θεττα-
 λοὺς Δάοχος Κινέας Θρασύδαος, Ἀρκάδας Κερ-
 κιδᾶς Ἰερώνυμος Εὐκαμπίδας, Ἀργείους Μύρτις
 Τελέδαμος Μνασέας, Ἡλείους Εὐξίθεος Κλεότιμος
 Ἀρίσταιχμος, Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς
 ἔχθροῦ παιδες Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος, Σικυωνίους
 Ἀρίστρατος Ἐπιχάρης, Κορινθίους Δείναρχος
 Δημάρετος, Μεγαρέας Πτοιόδωρος Ἐλιξος Περί-
 λαος, Θηβαίους Τιμόλας Θεογείτων Ἀνεμοίτας,
 Εύβοέας Ἰππαρχος Κλείταρχος Σωσίστρατος.
 ἐπιλείψει με λέγοντα ἡ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ²⁹⁶
 ὀνόματα. οὗτοι πάντες εἰσίν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσιν
 ὅνπερ οὗτοι παρ’ ὑμῶν, ἄνθρωποι μιαροὶ καὶ κόλα-
 κες καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἡκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν
 ἔκαστοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες
 πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππων γάρ τὸν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῇ γα-
 στρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις τὴν εὐδαιμο-
 νίαν, τὴν δ’ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δε-
 σπότην αὐτῶν, ἢ τοῖς προτέροις Ἑλλησιν ὅροι
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἥσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατετραφότες.

Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχρᾶς καὶ περιβοή- ²⁹⁷
 του συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ’, ὡς ἄνδρες

236. Ἡδέως δ’ ἀν ἔγωγε, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ὁμολο-
 γησαίμην πρὸς τὸν γράψαντα τὸ ψήφισμα, διὰ ποίας εὐεργεσίας
 ἀξιοὶ Δημοσθένην στεφανώσαι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεις, ὅθεν τὴν

Αθηναῖοι, προδοσίας, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, ἢ τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀν-
 θρώποις ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευ-
 μάτων καὶ ἐγὼ παρ’ ὑμῖν. εἴτα μὲν ἐρωτᾶς ἀντὶ²⁹⁸
 ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δέ σοι λέγω,
 ὅτι τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι δια-
 φθαρέντων ἀπάντων, ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρό-
 τερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου νῦν δ’ ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου,
 ἐμὲ οὕτε καιρὸς οὕτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων οὕτ’
 ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος οὕτ’ ἐλπὶς οὕτε φόβος οὕτ’
 ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγάγετο ὃν ἔκρινα
 δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι οὐδὲν προ-
 δοῦναι, οὐδ’, ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πώποτε του-
 τοισί, ὅμοίως ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἀν τρυτάνη ρέπων ἐπὶ
 τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἄλλ’ ἀπ’ ὄρθης καὶ
 δικαίας καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ μεγίστων
 δὴ πραγμάτων τῶν κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προ-
 στὰς πάντα ταῦτα ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευ-
²⁹⁹ μαι. διὰ ταῦτ’ ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι. τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν
 τοῦτον, ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρείαν
 ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὐ;
 πόρρω μέντοι που τῶν ἐμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων

ἀρχὴν τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐποιήσω, ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ
 τείχη καλῶς ἐτάφρευσε, θαυμάζω σου. τοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ’ ἔξεργα-
 σθῆναι καλῶς τὸ γεγενῆσθαι τούτων αἴτιον μείζω κατηγορίαν
 ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ περιχαρακώσαντα χρὴ τὰ τείχη οὐδὲ τὰς δημοσίας
 ταφὰς ἀνελόντα τὸν ὄρθως πεπολιτευμένον δωρεὰς αἴτεν, ἄλλ’
 ἀγαθοῦ τινος αἴτιον γεγενημένον τῇ πόλει.

τίθεμαι. οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἔγώ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλῃ δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὑρήσεις ὅπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς καὶ πολλοὺς ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους. ταῦτα προὺν 300 βαλόμην ἔγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ δυνατόν, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστεως. οὐδέ γ' ἡττήθην ἔγὼ τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῦ, οὐδὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ. τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις; ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί. σκοπεῦτε δέ.

Τί χρῆν τὸν εὔνοουν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ 301 πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εῦβοιαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελοπόννησον τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτη; οὐ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κομισθήσεται, προϊδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκ- 302 πέμποντα βοηθείας καὶ λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόννησον, τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεῖα καὶ σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξει πρᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἀβυδον, τὴν Εῦβοιαν;

καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν δυνάμεων
 τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὃν δ' ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει,
 ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἄπαντα πέ-
 πρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς
 303 πολιτεύμασι, ἀ καὶ βεβουλευμένα, ὡς ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φθόνου τις βούληται σκο-
 πεῖν, ὅρθῶς εὐρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δι-
 καιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὸν ἑκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα
 οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα οὐδὲ προεθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ
 ὅστα εἰς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἥκεν,
 οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ δὲ ἡ δαίμονός τινος ἡ τύχης
 ἴσχὺς ἡ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης ἡ τῶν προδιδόντων
 τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἡ πάντα ταῦτα ἐλυμαίνετο
 τοῖς ὅλοις, ἕως ἀνέτρεψαν, τί Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ;
 304 εἰ δ' οἶος ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τάξιν,
 εἰς ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν Ἐλληνίδων πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγέ-
 νετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ ἔνα ἄνδρα μόνον Θετταλίᾳ καὶ
 ἔνα ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδίᾳ ταῦτα φρονοῦντα ἔσχεν ἐμού,
 οὐδεὶς οὖτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἐλλήνων οὖτε τῶν
 305 εἴσω τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' αὖ, ἀλλὰ πάν-
 τες δὲ ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ πάσης
 ἀδείας ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ὥκουν
 πατρίδας, τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ.
 ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῷ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττοσι
 χρῶμαι τῶν ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον,
 λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχύνη, τὸν κα- 306 λὸν κάγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ, ὃν κατορθουμένων μὲν μεγίστοις ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι καὶ τὸ δικαίως προσῆν, ὡς ἔτέρως δὲ συμβάντων τὸ γοῦν εὐδοκιμεῶν περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν προαιρέσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην κακίζειν τὴν οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασσαν, οὐ 307 μὰ Δί’ οὐκ ἀποστάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει, μισθώσαντα δ’ αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔχθρῶν καιροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πράγματα ἄξια τῆς πόλεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ γράφειν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων βασκαίνειν, ἐὰν δέ τις ἴδῃ τι λυπήσῃ, τοῦτο μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν, οὐδέ γ’ ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἄδικον καὶ ὑπουλον, ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς πολλάκις. ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ συμφέρουσα 308 τῇ πόλει, ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς ἀπλῶς ἄγετε. ἀλλ’ οὐ ταύτην οὖτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυχίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ’ ἀποστὰς ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ

216. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν μου τοῦ βίου διαβάλλει καὶ τῆς σιωπῆς μου κατηγορεῖ, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτῷ τόπος ἀσυκοφάντητος παραλείπηται, καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις μετὰ τῶν νεωτέρων μου διατριβὰς καταμέμφεται, καὶ κατὰ τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου φέρει τινὰ σιτίαν, λέγων, ὡς ἐγὼ τὴν γραφὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγραψάμην, ἀλλ’ ἐνδεικνύμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν. 217. καὶ νὴ Δί’, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνο-

τῆς πολιτείας (πολλάκις δὲ δοκεῖ) φυλάττει πηνίκ' ἔσεσθε μεστοὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ τῆς τύχης τι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίωμα ἢ ἄλλο τι δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλὰ δὲ τάνθρωπινα). εἰτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ρήτωρ ἔξαιφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὕσπερ πνεῦμ' ἔφανη, καὶ πεφωνασκηκὼς καὶ συνειλοχώς ρήματα καὶ λόγους συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ ἀπνευστί, ὅνησιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδὲ ἀγαθοῦ κτῆσιν οὐδενός, συμφορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι 309 τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύνην. καίτοι ταύτης τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας, Αἰσχύνη, εἴ περ ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα προγρημένης, τοὺς καρποὺς ἔδει γειναίους καὶ καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὀφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου κατασκευήν, νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοῖς 310 ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἔχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα. τούτων γὰρ ἀπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἔξετασις, καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε κάγαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσει γεγονώς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος, οὐ

μαί, μέλλει με ἀνερωτᾶν, διὰ τί τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ ψέγω, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἔκαστον οὐκ ἐκώλυνον οὐδὲ ἐγραφόμην, ἀλλὰ διαλιπὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ πυκνὰ προστῶν ἀπήνεγκα τὴν γραφήν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε τὰς Δημοσθένους διατριβάς ἔζήλωκα, οὔτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐμαντοῦ αἰσχύνομαι, οὔτε τὸν εἰρημένους ἐν ὑμῖν λόγους ἐμαντῷ ἀρρήτους εἶναι βουλοίμην, οὔτε τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ δημηγορήσας ἐδεξάμην ἀν ζῆν.

τέταρτος, οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἔκτος, οὐχ ὄποστο-
σοῦν, οὐκονν ἐπί γ' οῖς ἡ πατρὶς ηὗξάνετο. τίς 311
γὰρ συμμαχία σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονε τῇ πόλει;
τίς δὲ βοήθεια ἡ κτῆσις εὔνοίας ἡ δόξης; τίς δὲ
πρεσβεία; τίς διακονία δὶ ἦν ἡ πόλις ἐντιμο-
τέρα; τί τῶν οἰκείων ἡ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενι-
κῶν, οῖς ἐπέστης, ἐπηνώρθωται; ποῖαι τριήρεις;
ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι νεώσοικοι; τίς ἐπισκευὴ τευ-
χῶν; ποῖον ἵππικόν; τί τῶν ἀπάντων σὺ χρήσι-
μος εἶ; τίς ἡ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἡ τοῖς ἀπόροις πο-
λιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων; οὐδεμία.
ἀλλ', ὃ τāν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὔνοιά γε καὶ προ- 312
θυμία; ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὃ πάντων ἀδικώτατε,
οὐδ' ὅτε ἀπαντεῖ, ὅσοι πώποτ' ἐφθέγξαντο ἐπὶ
τοῦ βήματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, καὶ τὸ
τελευταῖον Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν
ἐπιτιμίαν, οὐδὲ τότε οὕτε παρῆλθεις οὗτ' ἐπέδωκας
οὐδέν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κεκληρού-
μηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων
πλειόνων ἡ πεντεταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες
ἔρανον δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμο-
ριῶν ἐφ' οῖς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον.
ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων τοῦ παρόντος 313
ἔμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παραλεύψω ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι
γ' οὐχὶ δὶ ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον,
ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν ἔναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ
σοῦ τούτοις οἷς ἀπαντα πολιτεύῃ. ἐν τίσιν οὖν

2 σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός ; ἡνίκ' ἀν κατὰ τούτων τι δέη, ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφωνότατος, μυημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτὴς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.

314 Εἴτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μέμνησαι. καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. οὐ μέντοι δίκαιον ἔστιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτήκοτας εὔνοιαν ὑπάρχουσαν προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλ-

315 λειν ἐμὲ τὸν νῦν ζῶντα μεθ' ὑμῶν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὑπεστί τις ἡ πλείων ἡ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς τεθνεῶτας δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἔχθρῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ ; οὕτως οὖν ἔχόντων τούτων τῇ φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ θεωρῶμαι ; μηδαμῶς οὕτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὗτ' ἵσον, Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει τῶν ταῦτά σοι προηγ-
316 ρημένων καὶ ζώντων. κάκεινο σκόπει. πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς τῶν πρό-

257. "Οταν δ' ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἥδη τοῦ λόγου συντηρόφους τοὺς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δωροδοκημάτων αὐτῷ παρακαλῆ, ὑπολαμβάνετε δρᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, οὐν νῦν ἔστηκὼς ἐγὼ λέγω, ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀσέλγειαν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως εὐεργέτας, Σόλωνα μὲν τὸν καλλίστοις νόμοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον καὶ νομοθέτην ἀγαθόν, σωφρόνως, ὡς προσῆκεν αὐτῷ, δεόμενον ὑμῶν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τὸν Δημοσθένους λόγους περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν νόμων, 258. Ἀριστεῖδην δὲ τὸν τοὺς φόρους τάξαντα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν.

τερον εὐεργεσίας, οὕσας ὑπερμεγέθεις, οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἀν ἡλίκας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν ἄγειν, ἢ πᾶσιν ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράττουσι, τῆς τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖναι; καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με εἰπεῖν, ἢ μὲν ἐμὴ 317 πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις, ἀν τις ὁρθῶς σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν τότ' ἐπαινουμένων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία καὶ ταῦτα βουλομένη φανήσεται, ἢ δὲ σὴ ταῖς τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἥσάν τινες οἱ διασύροντες τοὺς ὄντας τότε, τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γεγενημένους ἐπήνουν, βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ ταῦτὸ ποιοῦντες σοί. εἴτα λέγεις ως οὐδὲν ὅμοιός εἴμι ἐκείνοις 318 ἐγώ; σὺ δ' ὅμοιος, Αἰσχίνη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός; ἄλλος δέ τις τῶν νῦν ρήτορων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα φημί, ἄλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ω χρηστέ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλ' εἴπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἔξεταζε καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν, ὡσπερ τάλλα πάντα, τοὺς ποιητάς, τοὺς χορούς, τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. ὁ Φιλάμ- 319 μων οὐχ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ Καρυστίου καί τινων

189. Καίτοι πινθάνομαι γ' αὐτὸν μέλλειν λέγειν, ώς οὐ δίκαια ποιῷ παραβάλλων αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα· οὐδὲ γὰρ Φιλάμμωνά φησι τὸν πύκτην Ὀλυμπίασι στεφανωθῆναι νικήσαντα Γλαύκον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκείνον πύκτην, ἄλλὰ τοὺς καθ' έαυτὸν ἀγωνιστάς, ὡσπερ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πύκταις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγών πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς δ' ἀξιοῦσι στεφανωθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἃς καὶ ἐνέκα στεφανοῦνται.

έτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀθλητῶν ἀσθενέ-
στερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀπῆει,
ἀλλ’ ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄριστα
ἔμάχετο, ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο.
καὶ σὺ πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὅρα με ρήτορας, πρὸς
σαυτόν, πρὸς ὄντινα βούλει τῶν ἀπάντων· οὐ-
320 δένα ἔξισταμαι. ὅν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλ-
τιστα ἐλέσθαι παρῆν, ἐφαμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν
πατρίδα εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ
κράτιστα λέγων ἐφαινόμην, καὶ τοῖς ἔμοις καὶ
ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ πρεσβείαις ἀπαντα
διῳκεῖτο, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν εἴ
τούτοις ἐπηρεάσαι τι δέοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ μή ποτ'
ῶφελε συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων ἀλλὰ τῶν
τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ
τῆς πατρίδος μισθαρνεῖν ἔτοίμων καὶ τῶν κολα-
κεύειν ἔτερον βουλομένων ἔξετασις, τηνικαῦτα
σὺ καὶ τούτων ἔκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ
λαμπρὸς ἵπποτρόφος, ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενής, ὁμολογῶ,
ἀλλ’ εὔνους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί.

321 Δύο δ', ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν φύσει μέτριον
πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὗτω γάρ μοι περὶ ἔμαυτοῦ
λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον εἰπεῖν), ἐν μὲν ταῖς
ἔξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου τῇ
πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν, ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ
καὶ πράξει τὴν εὔνοιαν· τούτου γάρ ἡ φύσις κυ-
ρία, τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἴσχύειν ἔτερα. ταύτην

τοίνυν παρ' ἐμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὐρήσετε ἀπλῶς. ὁρᾶτε δέ. οὐκ ἔξαιτούμενος, οὐκ Ἀμφικτυονικὰς ³²² δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελομένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους τούτους ὥσπερ θηρία μοι προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδέδωκα τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὔνοιαν. τὸ γὰρ ἔξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὄρθην καὶ δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἴλόμην, τὰς τιμάς, τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας τὰς τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὐξεῖν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦς ἑτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ³²³ ἐγὼ καὶ γεγηθῶς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τούτοις οὓς ἀν ἔκεισε ἀπαγγέλλειν οἴωμα, τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν πεφρικῶς ἀκούω καὶ στένων καὶ κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὗτοι, οἱ τὴν μὲν πόλιν διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὐτοὺς διασύροντες, ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχησάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν ἔτερος, ταῦτ' ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μενεῖ φασι δεῦν τηρεῖν.

Μὴ δῆτ', ὡς πάντες θεοί, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ³²⁴ ὑμῶν ἐπι-

260. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὡς γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σύνεστις καὶ παιδεία, ἢ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρά, βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἴρηκα. καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ ἀδικήματος κατηγόρηκα, εἰπον ὡς ἐβούλομην, εἰ δὲ ἐνδεεστέρως, ὡς ἐδυνάμην. Υμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων λόγων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παραλειπομένων αὐτοὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ψηφίσασθε.

νεύσειεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν ἀνιάτως, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἔαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε, ἵμιν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρτημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

NOTES.

A B B R E V I A T I O N S.

Bekk.Bekker's Edition.
cf.Latin confer, i. e. compare, see.
Cu.Curtius's Grammar.
Dind.Dindorf's Edition.
Diss. or D.Dissen's Edition.
Editt.Editions or Editors.
fr.from.
G M T.Goodwin's Greek Moods and Tenses.
G.Goodwin's Grammar.
H.Hadley's Grammar, revised by Allen.
i. e.id est.
K.Kühner's Grammar.
Kenn.Kennedy's Translation.
κ. τ. ἄ*kai rà érepa*, etc.
L. and S.Liddell and Scott's Lexicon.
Laur. S.Laurentian Manuscript S.
lit.literal or literally.
Lord B.Lord Brougham.
Madv. G. S.Madvig's Greek Syntax.
MS., MSS.Manuscript, Manuscripts.
Σ.Σίγμα, name of the oldest and best Manuscript of the text.
sc.scilicet, namely, understood.
Schaeff.Schaefer's Edition.
st.instead of.
V., Voem.Voemel's Edition.
W.Westermann's Edition.
w.with.
Wh.Whiston's Edition.
wh.which.
Z.The Zürich Edition of the text, by Baiter and Sauppe.

NOTES.

THIS oration was more commonly known among the ancients under the name of *pro Ctesiphonte*. Its merits were especially lauded by the ancient rhetoricians, particularly by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*de Antiq. Orat. Comm.*, VI. 953 ff, ed. Reiske, and *de Verborum Compositione*, cap. XXV.), by Hermogenes (*de Eloquentiae Ratione*), and by Quintilian (*Orat. Inst.*, XI., XII.).

EXORDIUM, §§ 1–8. In this introduction the orator manifests a certain anxiety and timidity. Cf. Quint., XI. 3. 97.

§ 1. **πρῶτον μὲν...εὐχομαί**: to commence a speech w. an invocation was unusual among the Greeks. One notable instance is Lycurg. c. *Leocr.*: *εὐχομαί γὰρ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς*. Aesch. c. *Timarch.*, § 116, speaks of beseeching all the gods. But with the Romans this was not infrequent. Cf. Cic. *pro L. Murena*, *pro C. Cornelio*. Servius remarks on Verg. *Aen.*, XI. 301: *Majores nullam orationem nisi invocatis numinibus inchoabant.* — **ὦ δικῆρες Ἀ.**: for the nature of the court thus addressed vid. Dict. Antiq. sub *Dicasterion*, *Dicastes*; Grote, IV. 188 ff; Schoemann, *Greek Antiq.* — **τοῖς**: omitted by a few MSS. Dionys. Halic. shows that this word is essential to the rhythm of the sentence, wh. is *anapaestic*. The same reason is given for the addition of *ι* in *τοῦτοι* below. — **δοτην...** **τοσαύτην**: by reversing the order of relat. and demonstr. clause the orator makes more prominent the claim or ground upon wh. his request is based. — **ἔχων...διατελῶ**: what use of the partc.? H. 980, 981; G. 1578, 1580; Cu. § 590. — **ἴπειθ'**: the *δέ* correlative w. *μέν* is often omitted w. *ἴπειτα*. Cf. H. 1046, b; Madv. *Gr. Syn.*, § 188, Rem. 5. — **ὦ πέρ** has for its antecedent *τοῦτο*, the whole referring to *μὴ...ποιήσασθαι...ἄλλὰ...τὸν δόκον*, thus: *that the gods may put that into your hearts which is especially for your interest, etc., not to make...but, etc.* — **εὐσεβειας...δόξης**: “*εὐσέ-βεια* refers to their oath in particular; *δόξα* to equity in general. For *δόξα*

in § 8 the orator substitutes εὐδοξία as more explicit." TYLER. — τοῦ belongs to the whole phrase. So Plat. *Repub.*, 352 d : ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ δυτικὰ τρόπου χρὴ ξῆν; Herod. 8. 79 : στασιάζειν περὶ τοῦ ὁκτέρος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάζεται.

§ 2. τὸν δρκον : the oath taken by the *Heliastae*. Isocr. 15, § 21, gives it in substance thus : δμνίναι η μὴν ὁμοίας ἀκροάσσεσθαι τῶν κατηγορούντων καὶ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων. — δικαῖοις : what these legal requirements were, Dem. explains more fully in his *Orat. c. Lept.*, §§ 94, 96. — ἀκροάσσεσθαι : so reads Σ ; the other MSS. have ἀκροάσθαι. What is the difference? — οὐδὲ : the force of μένον is continued. So in § 93. — ισην : the word αμφοτέροις, wh. follows in most MSS., is probably an interpolation from § 7. ἀποδοῖναι : what is the force of the ἀπό in this compound? — τὸ τῆ τάξις ...χρήσασθαι : epexegetical of τὸ...ἀκροάσσεσθαι and *pred. nom.* after ἔστιν. — τῇ τάξις...τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ embraces both the *order* and the *matter* of the defence. The τάξις is made prominent, as it was in this particular that Aesch. sought to hamper Dem. in making his defence. — βεβούληται καὶ προέργηται : the perf. tense is used to indicate the previous preparation in accordance w. the practice of the ancient orators. — ὡς...οὕτως : here again the relat. before the demonstr. clause. The attention of the judges is not called to οὕτως until its explanation (ὡς) has first been given. — Dissen calls attention to the completeness of this first period, and analyzes it into three parts, of wh. the first prepares the way for the second, the second for the third; while in the importance of the thought the same order is preserved. The orator now gives (§§ 3, 4) the special reasons for his previous request.

§ 3. οὖν = *igitur*, and is used here, as often, to indicate transition in the thought. — πολλὰ μὲν, κ. τ. ἐ., now, while in many points...there are two wh. are especially great. — δὲ introduces the principal, μὲν the subordinate sentence. καὶ is emphatic w. μεγάλα ; cf. καὶ μάλα, καὶ πάνυ. — οὐ περὶ τ. Λ. ἀγ., i. e. I have more at stake. — θεῖν τὴν γραφήν, lit. to seize the indictment; somewhat similar is our phrase, to get a verdict. Transl., to win his case. The loss of Aesch. in case of defeat would only be a fine of 1000 drachmæ and a forfeiture of the privilege of instituting similar suits. Cf. Boeckhl's *Publ. Economy of the Athen.*, I. p. 406 ; Meier and Schiöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 734. — ἀλλ' ἔμοι μέν : by an abrupt stop, called in rhetorical phraseology *apostrophe* (cf. Quint. *Orat. Inst.*, IX. 2, § 54), the orator leaves his hearers to imagine the rest, since it would be *unpleasant* (*δυσχερές*) for him to allude to an unfavorable verdict. Other instances are found in §§ 22, 195. W. supplies the thought in this way : but for me,—my whole political career is at stake in dependence on your approbation. — ἐκ περιουσίας, lit. from a superabundance ; hence, needlessly, wantonly. We

understand Dem. to mean this: *Aesch.* jeopardizes nothing in this trial; he has but little to lose in case of defeat, nothing to gain in case of success. This prosecution, therefore, involving my dearest interests, has for its only gain my loss; hence, is undertaken in a spirit of simple wantonness and malice. Cf. *οι δ' ἐκ περιουσίας πονηροί*, Dem. c. *Steph.*, § 67. Plato in *Thecet.*, 154 D, uses this expression of rhetorical contests that were engaged in as a *pastime*. — **Ἐπερον δ'**, sc. ἐλαττούμαι. — **λοιδοριῶν, κατηγοριῶν**: how these differ the orator shows in § 123.

§ 4. **ώς ἔπος εἰπεῖν** modifies **πᾶσιν**. For the constr. cf. H. 956; G. 1534; Cu. § 564. — **ἐνοχλεῖ**: this fact had not escaped *Aesch.*; cf. infra. — **καν...λέγω...δόξω**: Cf. G M T. 444; H. 898; G. 1403; Cu. § 545. — **ἀπολύ-σασθαι...δεκνύναι**: Diss. thinks the aor. is used w. reference to the single charges (**τὰ κατηγορημένα**), each of wh. was to be refuted, and the pres. to denote the act that is to be continued throughout the oration — **δ τι...δν...** **ἀναγκάζῃ**: cf. G M T. 529; H. 912, 916; G. 1428, 1434; Cu. § 554. The skill of the orator in making his opponent responsible for the odium of his self-laudation is commented on by Quint., XI. 1. 22, as follows: “Neque hoc dico non aliquando de rebus a se gestis oratori esse dicendum, sicut eidem Demostheni pro Ctesiphonte, quod tamen ita emendavit ut necessitatem id faciendi ostenderet, invidiamque omnem in eum regeret qui hoc se coegisset.”

§§ 5–8. In these paragraphs Dem. repeats the request for an impartial hearing, but from a different standpoint. “What before he prayed that the gods would inspire the judges to do as a matter of piety and reputation, he now claims also as a right, while he enforces the claim by a combination of new considerations with the former ones; such as the greatness of the interest at stake, etc.” LARNED. — **κοινὸν εἶναι**: while the *legal prosecution* was against Ctes., the *persecution* was aimed at Dem., and it was important for the orator to emphasize at the outset the fact that his own personal interests were involved in this issue. — **πάντων**: in the sense of **οὐτινοσοῦν** = *cujusvis*, as is seen fr. the opposition in **μάλιστα**, κ. τ. ἐ. In, a similar sense **πανταχοῦ**, § 81. — **ἄλλως τε καν** = *both otherwise and especially if*. — **φιλανθρωπίας**: a virtue by wh. the Athen. considered themselves distinguished from the Spartans and others. An adroit appeal to Athen. vanity. So Dem. c. *Lept.*, § 109.

§ 6. **Ἄξιῶ καὶ δέοματι, I request (as a right) and beseech.** Rhetorical fulness or emphasis. Dem. seems fond of using pairs of words nearly synonymous: Dissen gives the following instances fr. this oration, besides the one above: **ἐτραγύψει καὶ διεξήσει**, § 13; **κατεψεύδον καὶ διέβαλλες**, § 11; **βοῶν καὶ διεμαρτύρεσθαι**, § 23; **δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται**, § 40; **προδλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην**, § 45; **οὐκ διειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι**, § 274; **λοιδορούμενος καὶ δια-**

σύρων, § 180; πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι, § 31; προορώμενος καὶ λογιζόμενος, § 27; μηδ' προορᾶν μηδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι, § 40; εἰδὼς καὶ ἐώρακώς, § 248; βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς, § 132; εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, § 33; ξώντων καὶ δυντων, § 72; ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξήλθες, § 22; διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήει, § 14. The student should be careful to give the *exact* meaning of these terms so as to bring out the shades of difference in thought doubtless intended by the orator. — **ὅμοιως** belongs to πάντων, as in §§ 61, 208. — **δικαλώς, impartially.** Observe the emphatic position as far away as possible fr. its verb *ἀκοῦσαι*. Its force is more fully explained by ὁσπερ, κ. τ. ἐ. — **ὁ τιθεὶς, the legislator, the founder.** So below, τοὺς δικάζοντας, ὁ διώκων, τῷ φεύγοντι, etc. are used substantively. — **ἢ ἀρχῆς:** “originally, not as the earliest lawgiver, but as the most influential. Hence *τιθεὶς*, wh. is strictly of one despotic lawgiver, whereas *τιθέμενος* is of a republic or community.” HOLMES. — **Σόλων** is lauded also by Aesch., § 257. — **δημοτικός** is defined by Aesch., § 168; cf. § 122 of our oration. — **τῷ γράψαι:** γράφειν νόμον = generally to propose a law in the popular assembly; but it may also mean, as here, to record or register by engraving on tablets or pillars of stone or brass. So Phil., III. § 41: *eis στήλην χαλκήν γράψαντες*. Transl. *thought it proper should be made supreme, not simply by recording them, but also by putting the jurors under oath.* — **τοὺς δικάζοντας:** most editt. add *ὑμᾶς*, but the use of *ὑμᾶν* before and after this sentence makes *ὑμᾶς* superfluous. Besides, Solon's legislation on this point applied to *all* times and cases; hence the orator first makes the general statement and then considers the application of this rule to the present case in the words: *οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν, κ. τ. ἐ.*

§ 7. **φαλνεῖται** = *it is evident*, different fr. **δοκεῖ** = *it seems*, in the best period of Greek. — **αἰτίας:** *aitia* is defined by Dem. c. *Androt.*, § 22, as a *charge* or *accusation* unsupported by proof, resting on the barren word of the accuser. It differs not widely fr. **διαβολή** = *calumny*. — **αἷς ἐκ... λογία,** *by which the prosecutor, on account of his speaking first, is formidable.* For use of **πρότερος** cf. H. 619, a; G. 926; Cu. § 361. 8. — **διάκονος** (= *prosecutor, Scotch pursuer*), **φεύγοντι** (= *defendant*), **παρελθεῖν** (= *to outstrip, to go by*), suggest the figure of a race. — **καὶ...καὶ**: correlated, connect the parts of the protasis. — **τὰ δίκαια** = *the legal arguments*, the points wh. the defendant may adduce for his defence. — **ἴσον... κοινὸν** = *impartial, common.* That the two qualities may be distinguished is seen in Plat. *Protаг.* 68; Eurip. *Orest.* 9: *κοινῆς τραπέζης ἀξιωμ' ξχων ίσον.* — **οὕτω,** *thus;* sc. after having furnished himself, etc. Diss. calls attention to the fact that the rhythm and weight of the sentence require **διάγνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι**, rather than the less emphatic **διαγνώσκειν**.

§ 8. **ὡς ξούκε:** added not so much by way of sarcasm, as the Schol. believes, as to express caution on account of the general and broad assertion

involved in *παντός*. — *παρακαλέσαι*, to call upon or summon, as if coadjutors. — *ὑπάρξαι μοι*: the corresponding sentence in § 1 has *παρ' ὑμῶν*, wh. is omitted here by Σ. Most Editt. follow the other MSS. in adding it. — *τοῦτο* refers to the sentence introduced by *δ τι* and is obj. of *γράναι*, the whole depending on *παραστῆσαι*, wh. in turn depends on *εὐχομαι*. Most Editt. insert *τοὺς θεούς* after *παραστῆσαι* as its subj. V. thinks this repetition would give a false meaning to the passage, as though the orator did not supplicate both *ὑπάρξαι* and *παραστῆσαι* from the gods. For similar omission of subj. w. infin. cf. § 141. — *γραφής*: cf. Lex. II. B. — On the structure of this exordium cf. Arist. *Rhet.*, XIV. 3. It may be considered with reference to (1) the prosecutor, (2) the jury, (3) the defendant himself. It answers all the ends of a perfect exordium, which aims, as Quintilian says, “reddere auditores benevolos, attentos, dociles.” The prayer at its beginning and close is a fitting refutation of the calumny of Æsch., who had represented Dem. as a contemner of the gods and of divine omens.

FIRST DIVISION OF THE ORATION.

§§ 9–52. CHARGES FOREIGN TO THE INDICTMENT. (a) OF A PRIVATE NATURE (§§ 10, 11). (b) OF A PUBLIC NATURE (§§ 12–52).

§§ 9–11. INTRODUCTION OF THE TOPIC AND DEFENCE OF PRIVATE LIFE. *διώκειν...κατηγόρησεν*: *διώκειν* is said of the *legal prosecution*, *κατηγορεῖν* of the *oral accusation* before the court. Cf. § 15 *κατηγορεῖ*, *κρίνει*. — *προβουλεύματος*, *preliminary decree*, i. e. an approval on the part of the Senate (*Βουλή*) of a bill, wh. could then be brought before the Assembly (*ἐκκλησία*) for ratification; receiving wh., it became a *ψήφισμα*. In the present instance, Ctes. had introduced a bill that Dem. should be rewarded w. a golden crown for certain public services. From the Senate the bill went before the Assembly; but before it was acted upon there, Æsch. brought an action called *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, *indictment for proposing measures contrary to law*, against Ctes., and thus prevented it from becoming a decree (*ψήφισμα*). — *κατηγόρησεν...δὲ ἀπελογούμην*: cf. G M T. 410 and 413; H. 895; G. 1397; Cu. § 537. Explain the difference in the use of the tenses. — *κατεψεύσατό μοι*: for the genit. cf. H. 752; G. 1123; Cu. § 424. — *τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις*, *criminationibus a causa alienis*, Diss.; by those irrelevant statements. — *τηγμένος* = *παρηγμένος*. — *ἀλλοτριώτερον*: the Schol. says = *ἔξωτερικώτερον*, i. e. with an estranged or prejudiced mind. — *τῶν...δικαίων...μον*: critics are not agreed whether to understand *τῶν δικαίων* as genit. w. *ἀκούγ* and *μον* as possess., or as genit. of separation w. *ἀλλοτριώτερον* (*somewhat estranged from what is just under the influence of τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις*) and *μον* governed by *ἀκούγ*. The

latter seems preferable on account of the sense and the position of *μον.* — *ὑπὲρ* = *περὶ* here. The distinction between these preps. lies in the fact that *ὑπὲρ* originally implies the *interest* or *advantage* of the thing or person *concerning* wh. anything is, or is said. In the orators this distinction is first lost sight of, and the preps. are easily interchanged. Cf. *ὑπὲρ τῶν δλλῶν*, § 10; *ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων*, § 11; *ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου*, § 76.

§ 10. **λοιδορούμενος βεβλασφήμηκε**: the nice distinctions between the words employed by Dem. to denote *slander*, *accusation*, *calumny*, *invective* (cf. §§ 123, 126), should be carefully observed; *λοιδόρα* is the more general term for *invective*, *βλασφῆμα* is more specific and concrete, and denotes the *scandals* or *slanders* uttered by a calumniator. — *ἀπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια*, st. *ἀπλῶς καὶ δίκαιως*, wh. are used in § 58. — *τοιούτοις*, sc. *ὅτα*; cf. § 277. The supplementary partic. *ὅτι* is often thus omitted by the orators; cf. Madv. § 178, Rem. 4; K. § 310, Rem. 5. — *ἀνάσχησθε...καταψηφίσασθε*: what is there in the form of this prohibition and command that gives special emphasis? Follow in transl., as nearly as possible, the order of the Greek. Lord B. renders this spirited sentence thus: “*but rise up this instant and condemn me.*” — *βελτίω καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων*: a standing formula among the Greeks; similar are *ἄγαθὸς ἐξ ἀγαθῶν*, *ἅριστος ἐξ ἄριστων*. — *τῶν μετρίων*, *of the average or respectable class*. State the argument of Dem. in this sentence. — *Ἄντε...τεθεαχθε...παράσχεσθε*: for this constr. cf. H. 995; G. 1037; Cu. § 597. 3.

§ 11. **κακοήθης...εῖησθε φήθης**: a play upon words wh. is inimitable in Engl. Jacobs renders it by *argmühlig ... gutmühlig*. Dem. makes but sparing use of the Paronomasia, as it was called by the rhetoricians, and only where the thought is made more prominent by it. Cf. § 267; so c. *Aristocr.* § 202: *ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἔλευθέρους ἀλλ᾽ ὀλέθρους*; Phil., I. § 24: *ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ*; vid. Rehdantz's Dem., IX. § 18, for many more illustrations. Spengel remarks that Aesch. has nowhere made any such statement, and that this is simply an artifice of Dem. by wh. he would have it appear that he does not shun the direct issue. — **πομπεῖς**: a metaphor taken from the ribald jokes and abusive epithets uttered by those who rode in chariots in the procession (*πομπεῖα*) of the Anthesterian festival. For a specimen cf. Aristoph. *Ran.*, 416 ff. — *ἀνθηη,* *recklessly*. — *ἄντε...ἀκούειν* *ἢ*: the uncertain position of *ἀκούειν* in the best MSS. (some placing it, as here, after *β.*, others after *τουτοῖς*) leads some critics to look upon it as an interpolation. In *Orat. pro Megal.*, § 3, the approved reading is *θυτερούς*, *ἄντεν βουλομένοις* *ἢ*, *δεῖξω*, without *ἀκούειν*. For constr. cf. H. 771, a; G. 1584; Cu. § 435. The tact of the orator in adding, if it shall please you to listen, is manifest.

§§ 12-17. INTRODUCTION TO THE PUBLIC MATTERS IRRELEVANT TO

THE INDICTMENT. In this paragraph Dem. aims to prove the personal malice of this prosecution by pointing out its *indirectness* and *futility*. — **πολλά**, sc. ἔστιν. — **ἐνίων** defines and limits the preced. gen. ἄν as an appositive. Cf. Thuc., I. 6 : **ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἰς**; Dem. *de F. L.*, § 260 : **τὰς γὰρ ἀκροπόλεις αὐτῶν ἐνίων Μακεδόνες φρουροῦσιν**. — **αὐτή**, sc. ἔστιν. So most Editt., in opposition to most of the MSS. wh. read **αὐτὴ**. We understand Dem. to mean this : " My opponent is not heaping charges upon me in order that I may be punished according to law, but his motive is this," etc. — **ἔχθρον μὲν** is the protasis of **τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν, μέντοι** being in antithesis to **μὲν**. — **ἐπῆρειν** : " a malicious disposition to injure others without gaining any profit one's self." — **ὑβρίν** has reference to contumelious acts; **λοιδορίαν**, to contumelious words. — **τῶν κατηγοριῶν**, κ. τ. ἐ, constr. w. **δίκην ἀξίαν**. — The argument of this and the following section runs thus : If the state cannot administer a befitting punishment so as to meet the ends of justice, a prosecution becomes a malicious persecution. This the state cannot do where the defendant has no opportunity of making a proper defence. This opportunity *Aesch.* has taken away from Dem. in three ways : (1) by bringing the indictment against Ctes. and not against Dem. personally ; (2) by bringing the charges so long time after the alleged misdeeds ; (3) by failing to make these charges definite and specific.

§ 13. **τὸ προσελθεῖν**, κ. τ. ἐ : obj. of **ἀφαιρεῖσθαι**, wh. takes two accusatives (cf. II. 124; G. 1069; Cu. § 404; the personal obj., wh. by implication is Dem., being omitted. The omitted subj. of **ἀφαιρεῖσθαι** is *Aesch.* — The phrase **τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δῆμῳ** = *to come before the popular assembly as a speaker.* — **λόγου τυχεῖν**, *to obtain a hearing.* By this indirect mode of attack, *Aesch.* compelled Dem. to defend his public policy in the *court* instead of in the *ecclesia*, and as the advocate of another instead of simply in his own defence. — **ἐν...τάξει**, *in the rank or quality of.* For various uses of **τάξις**, cf. §§ 63, 173, 192. — **πολιτικὸν**, lit. *what pertains to a πολίτης; statesmanlike, Lord B.; constitutional, Kenn.* — **ἄλλ'** : *Aesch.* was in fault in two ways : in doing what he ought not to have done, **οὐ γὰρ**, κ. τ. ἐ; and in *not* doing what was right, sc. to prefer these charges directly and regularly, **ἄλλ' ἐφ' οἷς**, κ. τ. ἐ. — **ἴτραγόδε** : the allusions of the orator to the earlier career of *Aesch.* as an actor, are neither complimentary nor infrequent. Cf. **ὑποκρίνεται** below; **διεξιών**, § 41, and many more instances. — **παρ' αὐτῷ τάδικήματα**, *during or at the very time of* (**παρά** = *alongside of*) *the misdeeds.* This use of **παρά** w. accus. is frequent in the orators; cf. L. and S. sub v. II. — **χρησθεῖ**, sc. **ἔδει** from **δεῖ** above. — **εἰσαγγελίας** : the *eisaggyelia* here meant was an extraordinary action of *impeachment* brought directly before the Senate or Assembly, for special or

peculiar violations of law not provided for in the ordinary courts. Cf. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 260 ff. — τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, i. e. in the peculiar way of the εἰσαγγελία. — γράφοντα...γραφόμενον: γράφειν = to propose; γράφεσθαι = to indict. — παράνομα, lit. *laws contrary to existing ones; unconstitutional measures* is a fair rendering. — παρανόμων: for the nature and operation of the action called γραφὴ παρανόμων, cf. Dict. Antiq. sub voce; Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, 282; Schöm. *Greek Antiq.*, p. 483. — οὐ γὰρ...δύναται...ἔγράψατο: the force of οὐ extends over both parts of the sentence. Cf. §§ 16 and 288 for a similar use of the negat. Transl. *for it cannot be that, etc....but that he would not have indicted, etc.* — δι' ἐμέ: how diff. fr. δι' ἔμου? Cf. note on δι' οὐς, § 35. — ἐμὲ...αὐτὸν: cf. § 279. — εἰ περ...ἔνομιζεν...οὐκ ἀν ἔγράψατο: cf. G M T. 410; H. 895; G. 1397; Cu. §§ 537, 541. Account for the diff. of tense in the protasis and apodosis.

§ 14. ἀγώνες καὶ κρίσεις, *trials and verdicts*; these are the practical application of νόμοι and τυμώραι. — διηγήκα ἐφαίνετο...ώμολογέσθι ἀν: same form of cond. sent. as above in § 13, except that the relat. adv. διηγήκα introduces the condition. — τοῖς...πρὸς ἐμέ, *the legal remedies applicable to my case.*

§ 15. τοσούτοις...χρόνοις: the events connected with the peace of Philocrates 16 years ago, and those connected with the Phocian war 25 years ago. — ὑποκρίνεται, *he acts a part*, i. e. he plays an underhand part in prosecuting Ctes. while really aiming at me. — εἶτα, *then, thereupon*, denotes sequence in thought or narration. — προστατάται, *puts in the foreground*; not as a pretence or screen here, but as the real cause. — οὐδαμοῦ: in § 251 Dem. boasts that Aesch. had never brought a single action against him personally. — ἐτέρον: difference between ἐτερός and ἄλλος? The genit. is one of separation. — ἐπιτυψία: if Ctes., in case of conviction, should be unable to pay the fine (*τιμῆμα*) of 50 talents, he would fall into *ἀτυψία* until the fine was discharged.

§ 16. καίτοι: a word of frequent occurrence. The part. τοι has generally an *intensive* or *additive* force; = *and verily, and furthermore*. — πρὸς w. dat. = *in addition to*. — ἀν...ἔχοι: potent. optat.; cf. G M T. 235; H. 872; G. 1327, 1328; Cu. § 517, Obs. 1. — ἀν λέγειν = either ἀν θελεγειν, *one could be saying* (but he does not), or, what seems more in harmony w. ᔁχοι above, ἀν λέγοι, *one might say* (if he would). — τὸν ἔξεστον ποιεῖσθαι: spoken of the litigants, while of the judges the phrase τῶν πεποιητευμένων ἔξετασι ποιήσειν is used in § 226. — οὐ belongs to the whole sent. τὸ μὲν...ἀγωνιζέσθαι...ἐτέρῳ δ'...ζητεῖν, and implies the repetition of δικαιον ἦν. — ἐτέρῳ: for the sake of emphasis st. ζερπον οὐ φ by inverse attraction. Cf. H. 1003; G. 1035; Cu. § 602.

§ 17. ἐπ' ἀληθείας οἰδεμίας, *based upon, with regard for no truth.* For similar use of ἐπί w. genit. cf. §§ 22, 226, 294. — ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης: the often referred to peace of Philocrates. Cf. Grote, Ch. LXXXIX. — τῆς πρεσβείας: the second embassy to Philip, for the purpose of receiving his oath to the peace agreed upon and sworn to by the Athenians. This embassy is known as ἡ παραπρεσβεία, and forms the theme of two orations by the rival orators. — Ιερός, in Attic usage generally means *probably, likely.* — καὶ διέλυτος τούς χρόνους, *throughout those times.*

§§ 18–52. EXAMINATION OF CHARGES MADE WITH REFERENCE TO THE NEGOTIATION OF THE PEACE OF PHILOCRATES (§§ 18–24), AND THE SECOND EMBASSY TO PHILIP (§§ 25–52). τοῦ...Φωκικοῦ...πολέμου: for an account of this war, sometimes called also the Sacred War, through wh. Philip obtained the long-coveted opportunity of intermeddling in the affairs of the Greeks, cf. Grote, Ch. LXXXVII.; Smith's *Hist. of Greece*, Ch. XLII. — συστάντος, *having been organized.* “*συνιστάναι* is to organize either for good or evil. The orator wishes to impute external agency, originating in Macedon or at Athens, as the prime cause of the Phocian outbreak.” HOLMES. — οὐ δι' ἐμὲ: Dem. disclaims having had anything to do with stirring up this war. Wh. joins these words w. οὐτω διέκεισθε, as if the orator would deny that he had prejudiced the feelings or warped the judgment of his fellow-citizens against the Thebans. But this seems uncalled for, since this prejudice against the Thebans was of long standing and generally understood. For allusions to this feeling cf. Dem. Oratt. 1. 26; 3. 8; 5. 15; 14. 33; 20. 109. — τότε: the first *public* speech of Dem. (c. *Androtion*) was delivered in 355 B. C., and the first *political* speech (*de Symmoriis*) a year later; but the difficulties wh. terminated in the Phocian War commenced in 357. The student will notice that Dem. regards as irrelevant (*οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐμέ*) all that precedes his own political ascendancy, i. e. about 343 B. C. Cf. §§ 21. 60, and the note on § 60. — σωθῆναι: Athens, by reason of her hatred of Thebes and ancient friendship for the Phocians, though furnishing no active assistance, sympathized w. the Phocians. — καὶ περ...δρῶντες: “This refers to the plunder of the Delphian temple: and we may notice w. what nice sense of decorum the orator speaks of the Phocians, who had been ancient allies of the Athenians, but whose conduct in plundering the temple of Delphi was condemned throughout the Grecian world.” LARNED. — Θηβαῖοις...παθοῦσιν, *but that you would have been delighted at the Thebans suffering everything.* For ἀν. w. infin. cf. G M T. 207; H. 964; G. 1308; Cu. §§ 575, 576. — οἴς...ἐν Δεύκρειος: at the battle of Leuctra, 371 B. C., the Thebans, under Epaminondas, gained the victory over the Spartans, and established their supremacy (*ἡγεμονία*), wh. lasted until their overthrow

in the battle of Mantinea, 362 b. c. During this period *they had not used with moderation* the advantages of their position. In their arrogance they had deprived Orchomenos, Thespiae, and Platæa of their *aὐτονομία*, and invested the city of Oropus, an act that was especially distasteful to Athens. Diod. Sic. XV. 79, speaks of the “Leuctric insolence” of the Thebans. — έτεις: not temporal, but sequential here, as indicating the next item in the enumeration of facts. — διειστήκα, plur., to indicate the resulting state or condition, *was in a state of fact*. — οἱ μυσοῦντες: sc. the Messenians, Arcadians, Argives, Sicyonians. — οἱ πρότερον... ἄρχοντες: the hated *Harmosts* that had been placed in command over several cities by Lysander immediately upon the close of the Pelopon. War. Cf. Xen. *Hellen.*, III. 5. 13; Isocr. *Panegyr.*, p. 36. — ἀκριτος: *promiscuous and interminable*; a single word hardly renders it. Cf. *Il.*, II. 796: the *μῆθοι ἀκριτοι* of Priam; id. III. 412: the *ἀχέα ἀκριτα* of Helen. — Diss. calls attention to the graceful structure of this last period. First the general statement, ἡ Π. διειστήκει; then the explanation and description by the parts introduced by καὶ: finally the summing up of the whole idea in stronger terms, δλλά τις, κ. τ. ἐ.

§ 19. χρήματα ἀναλίσκων, *by lavishing money*. Philip's skill in the use of bribes became proverbial. Cf. Horace *Od.*, Bk. III., XVI. 13. By his conquests in Thrace he had obtained possession of the gold-mines of Crenides, wh. are said (cf. Boeckh, *Publ. Econ. Athen.*, p. 10) to have yielded him an annual revenue of 1000 talents. — αὐτὸς = δλλήλους; cf. H. 686; G. 996; Cu. § 473. — εἰτ', *then*, denoting sequence. — ἐν οἷς, κ. τ. ἐ.: the sense is that *by means of the errors and follies of others* he was advancing his own interests. — κατὰ, *against*, with hostile intent. — ταλαιπωρούμενοι: deriv.? — τοῦ πολέμου: the Phocian War, wh. lasted about 10 years. — τότε... βαρεῖς: because the memory of their supremacy was still fresh. — νῦν... ἀτυχεῖς: in 335 b. c. Alexander razed Thebes to the ground and sold many of its inhabitants into slavery. Aesch., in alluding to the fate of this city, says in his *Orat. c. Cleo.*, § 133: Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι πύλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται.

§ 20. τί οὖν, κ. τ. ἐ.: Dionys. Halic., *περὶ Ἰσαλοῦ*, § 18, remarks that no orator has made such frequent and forcible use of the rhetorical question as Dem. *What then co-operated with him in ensnaring you as his almost willing dupes?* — ἡ τῶν δλλῶν Ἔ.: the art. agrees w. the nom. implied in *κακίαν* and *ἄγνοιαν*. *The — shall I call it baseness or ignorance of the rest of the Greeks?* Cf. § 271 for a similar turn. — πόλεμον συνεχῇ: the entire period of hostilities from the capture of Amphipolis in 357 b. c. until the peace of Philocrates, 346 b. c. — σώμασιν, *men, troops*. — διὰ ταῦτ': Dem., in attempting to free himself from the responsibility of bringing about this peace, skilfully avoids incurring the ill-feeling of the judges and the people,

by throwing the blame upon the *circumstances* and the state of public affairs existing at the time, rather than upon the people themselves. But, not satisfied with this, he adds very adroitly, that it was not the peace after all, but the corruption of the men engaged in its negotiation, that was the cause of the present troubles.—*ἐν αὐτῇ*: not *during it*, but *in relation to it*, i. e. in the transactions connected w. the peace.—*Δι...έξετάζῃ...εὑρήσει*: cf. G M T. 444; H. 898; G. 1403; Cu. § 545.

§ 21. *ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι, subtilius persequor et commemoro*, V.; *weighing and sifting*, Lord B.; *faithful and exact detail of this whole transaction*, Leland. This might be added to the instances of rhetorical pleonasm enumerated in note on § 6. With respect to these pleonasms Diss. remarks the simplicity of the Greek as compared w. the elaborate ornativeness of Cicero, who not only uses such amplifications more frequently, but often joins words employed figuratively to those used in a literal sense.—*εἰ...δοκοῖη...έστι*: a mixed cond. sent. Is this combination of moods common? Cf. G M T. 500; H. 901; G. 1421; Cu. § 549.—*τὰ μάλιστα*: adverb. accus., modifying *ձίκημα εἶναι*; the sense is *supposing the wrong to be ever so great*.—*'Αριστόδημος*: a celebrated actor who was sent by the Athenians as envoy to Philip, by whom he was greatly esteemed, to treat for the release of Athen. prisoners of war, who had been captured at the taking of Olynthus. Upon his return, Aristodemus reported to the Assembly the friendly feeling of Philip towards the Athenians, and his desire to enter into an alliance w. them.—*τούτου*, sc. *Æsch.*; cf. *οὗτος*, § 20. The opposite party in a suit is generally referred to by this demonstrative.—*'Αγνούστος*: Hagnus was the name of the deme to wh. Philocrates belonged.—*οὐδὲ' ἀν...ψευδόμανος, not even though you should burst with lying*, Kenn. The allusion is to the violent tones of *Æsch.*, wh. Dem. often ridicules.—*Εὐβουλος*: one of the foremost politicians of this period, a friend of *Æsch.* and of the Macedonian party. His financial policy, particularly in leading the state to set apart large sums for the Theoric Fund (cf. note § 55), contributed not a little towards rendering the state bankrupt and demoralizing the people.—*Κηφισοφῶν*: mentioned in the psephisma, § 29, as one of the envoys sent to Philip; of the deme Rhamnus; probably the same person who is mentioned by *Æsch. de F. L.*, § 73, as a Parian and one of the friends of Chares. Cf. A. Schaefer, *Dem. und seine Zeit*, II. p. 182.—*ἔγω δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ*: this is a flat contradiction of the statement of *Æsch.* in the subjoined extract. Dem. in his speech *de F. L.*, §§ 15–18, denies that he was in favor of the peace on the terms proposed by Philocrates. On this disputed point we may adopt the view of Grote (Ch. LXXXIX.) as being the one probably most correct: sc. that Dem. supported the proposal of Philocrates for peace and alliance w. Philip, except that special clause wh.

excluded the Phocians; that this clause was subsequently repudiated by the Assembly, but, when the treaty was sworn to, the Phocians, in violation of this action of the Assembly, were tacitly and practically excluded through the misrepresentations and false promises of *Aesch.* and his party (wh. are referred to in § 35 of our oration), and that it was against *this feature* of the treaty that Dem. protested, though not until it was too late. The statement then of Dem. before us is not *absolutely*, but only *relatively* true. That he should have been at this time in favor of a peace on *almost any terms* seems not so strange when we remember the state of the Athenian mind in this period: "repugnance to military cost and effort, sickness and shame at their past war with Philip, alarm from the prodigious success of his arms, and pressing anxiety to recover the captives taken at Olynthus." Grote. — "It was the hopelessness," says Niebuhr, "of expecting aid from the other states that justified Dem. in being a party to the peace of Philocrates."

§ 22. *επ'...ἀληθεῖας*: cf. § 17. — *ἄρα, forsooth*; inferential particle often w. a tinge of irony, as here. — *πρὸς τῷ...γεγενήσθαι*, *in addition to having become*. For *πρὸς* w. dat. cf. § 16. — *αἴτιος*, *the guilty cause*. The charge made by *Aesch.* was twofold: (1) Dem. was the author of the peace; (2) he concluded it apart from the confederacy of the allies. — *καὶ, also*. — *κεκωλυκὼς εἶην*: why the optat.? G M T. 689. 2; H. 932; G. 1487; Cu. § 528. Why *this* form of the optat.? — *κοινοῦ συνέδριου*, *a general synod*, wh. met at Athens and was formed of the delegates of the new Athenian confederacy that had been constituted soon after the Peloponn. War. Cf. Grote, Ch. LXXVII.; Smith, Ch. XXXIX. — *εἰτ' ὁ*: another instance of apostrophe; cf. note § 3. — *ἴστιν δέπου σὺ παρῶν...δρῶν...τίγανάτησας*, *is there an occasion where you being present seeing me...expressed your indignation*. — *παρελθών*, lit. *passing along or by* (the audience), i. e. *coming forward* to the tribune or platform from wh. in ancient assemblies (as nowadays in the French and German parliaments) the speaker was wont to address the meeting.

§ 23. *τὸ κωλύσα*: the use of the art. w. the infin. here and in *τὸ σιγῆσα* gives emphasis to the contrasted notions of these verbs, while the use of the aor., to indicate a single definite act, is in strong contrast to the pres. in *βοᾶν, διαμαρτύρεσθαι, δηλοῦν*. — *ἔγω Φιλίππῳ*: such juxtapositions for the sake of emphasis are frequent in Dem.; cf. §§ 255, 271. — *σοι*: observe its emphatic position. In the points just commented upon we have an illustration of the remarkable skill displayed by Dem. in the structure of his sentences. — *τότε*: after the fall of Olynthus, 347 B. C., embassies had been sent out by Athens to several of the Greek states in order to form a common league against Philip. Both orators confess that these embassies

were fruitless. Cf. *Aesch. de F. L.*, § 79. *Aesch.* charges his rival w. precipitating the negotiations of the peace so as to prevent the allies and confederates of Athens from participating in the treaty. The statements of the two orators upon this point are hopelessly conflicting. Professor Tyler adopts the conclusion of Grote, that not *all* the envoys had yet returned, but some were still absent when the peace was concluded. A. Schaeff., II. 200 ff. believes that all had returned, but that the states to which embassies had been sent, having declined to join Athens in a league against Philip, and being at peace with him, had of course no interest in the treaty now under consideration. However these points under dispute may be decided, there seems no doubt that the sentiments of *all had been thoroughly tested* (*πάντες ἐξεληγμένοι*), and were fully understood at Athens.

§ 24. χωρὶς...ψεύδεται : "Dem. not merely refutes, but makes the refutation an occasion of *attack*. We have already had examples in §§ 10, 11." LARNED. — εἰ παρεκαλεῖτε...πενήπετε..διεπράττεσθε : cf. G M T. 402; H. 893; G. 1390; Cu. § 536. — Εύρυβάτου : an Ephesian who was sent by Croesus into the Peloponnesus with money to raise mercenaries, and deserted to Cyrus, his rival. This name became proverbial for treachery and knavishness; thence is derived the verb *εὐρυβατεῖσθαι*. — τῇ γὰρ καὶ β., *for with what desire even*. — ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καίρῳ, *at this juncture*, i. e. while the Athenians were considering the terms of a peace w. Philip, the attempt to unite the Greek states against him having been abandoned. — ἀπαστιν, i. e. to *all* whom the Athenians had asked to unite against Philip. — ἀλλ'...ἔβουλεν-εσθε : a rhetorical syllogism whose conclusion is probable. For similar dilemmas cf. §§ 124, 125, 139, 196, 217. — οἴκουν : some MSS. read οὐκοῦν; what is the difference? — ἐξ ἀρχῆς : the *original* peace of Philocrates is by this designation distinguished from the peace of Demades made after Chæronea. — οὔτε...οὔτε'...οὔτε : οὐδὲ is subordinate and emphatic, οὔτε...οὔτε being co-ordinate, *neither...nor even...nor*. It will be noticed how with the last οὔτε the orator adds an inference from the preceding, just as at the close of § 23 with οὐδὲ οὐτος ὑγίεις, κ. τ. ἐ. — ὥν...θν : for this partic. constr. cf. H. 981; G. 1588; Cu. §§ 590, 593.

§§ 25–41. PROCEEDINGS CONNECTED WITH THE RATIFICATION OF THE PEACE, AND ITS IMMEDIATE RESULTS. — καὶ γὰρ : not elliptical here, but *kai* in the sense of *also*, i. e. *also from these affairs*, just as from those above rehearsed. — Κύραψι βουλεύων, *as senator moved a resolution*. — τὴν ταχ-στην : the importance of this haste is manifest. This motion was made by Dem. on the 3d of Munychion (April 29), some 7 days after Antipater as representative of Philip had taken the oath fr. the Athenians. — ἀν...πνυ-θάνωνται : st. *πνυθάνωστο*, as it is more significant to give the words of the decree in a direct form. — ἀπολαμβάνεν : what is the force of *ἀπό* here? Cf. *ἀποδοῦναι* in § 26.

§ 26. *τι...τιδύνατο, quod hoc sibi volebat?* Diss. *What was the intent of this* (sc. my resolution)? — Φύλαπτω μὲν...ώμιν δὲ : the student will not fail to notice the balanced structure of this sentence. — **ἄφ' ἡσ...ήμερας =** **ἄπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἥ.** Cf. H. 995; G. 1037; Cu. § 597. 3. — **τοῦτο** : alludes to what? Reiske says to **ὡς πλεῖστον...τῶν δρκῶν**; but this interval of time between the oaths had itself for its ulterior aim the cessation from preparations for war on the part of the Athenians. With W., therefore, we make **τοῦτο** refer to **πάσας ἐξελόνατε, κ. τ. ἔ.** — **ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου** : **ἐκ** w. genit. expresses time from its first beginning, including the whole extent of the period until the end. Lit. *from all the time*, i. e. *from first to last*. Cf. § 203. — **ὅτα τῆς πόλεως**, *whatever possessions of the city*; referring particularly to Philip's conquests in Thrace of places in alliance w. Athens. — **προλάβοι** : cf. G M T. 532; H. 914 B; G. 1431. 2; Cu. § 555. The action in the partic. **νομίζων** is *repeated or continued*, i. e. in each case or all the while *supposing*.

§ 27. **ἐν οἷς ἀν ἦ :** cf. note on **ἀν πιθάνωνται** above. — **ἴν...γίγνονθ̄ :** past purpose after **γράφω** an historic present; cf. G M T. 33; H. 828; G. 1252, 1268; Cu. § 487. — **διέσυρε**, *ridiculed*. The corresponding passage in Aesch. (§ 82) shows an intentional perversion of these names: as, **Μυρτίσκην** st. **Μυρτίνων**; **Γαύδα**, wh. is simply a play upon the sound of **Γάνος**; **Σέρπιον** is mentioned by Herod. VII. 59, and by Dem. *Phil.*, III. 16; Harporation in his Lex. mentions **Μυρτανῶν** and **Ἐργισκῆ**. — **οὖτε, under these circumstances**. — **τοὺς ἐπικαρπούς**, *the favorably located ones*; alluding to the importance of these places in a military point of view, since they were situated in the vicinity of the Thracian Chersonesus, wh. belonged to the Athenians. — **πολλῶν χρημάτων**: cf. note § 19.

§ 28. **εἶτα, then or thereupon**, to indicate sequence of thought. — **οὐχὶ λέγε...ἀναγιγνώσκει**, *he does not cite, nor does he read*. The distinction between these verbs as indicated in our translation is not always maintained in the orators. Below, e. g. **λέγε** is used in the sense of *read or cause to be read*, and is addressed to the **γραμματεύς** or clerk of the Archons. — **προσάγειν**, *to introduce*. “Foreign ambassadors were introduced to an audience with the people by a resolution of the Senate (cf. Aesch. *de F. L.*, § 58). Demosthenes as Senator moved that Philip's envoys should be introduced to the people for the purpose of discussing the conditions of the proposed peace.” Wh. — **τοῦτο μου διαβάλλει**, *with this he taunts me*. For this genit. cf. H. 751; G. 1132; Cu. § 424. 8. Cf. § 299: **τὸν τειχισμὸν δι σύ μου διέσυρες**. — **μὴ**: this negat. introduces the whole question and expects the answer *no*, but its special force falls upon the nearest verb **προσάγειν**, *to propose not to introduce*, etc. — **διαλεχθῶσιν**: the subj. st. optat., for the sake of vividness of narration. Cf. G M T. 321; H. 881 & ;

G. 1369 ; Cu. §§ 531. 1 ; 532, Obs. — θεατροῦ : this was the so-called *προεδρία*, a distinction conferred upon the guests of the state by resolution of the Senate. — τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα, the lessee of the theatre, called also θεατρώνης, θεατρωῶντος, who paid a certain rent to the state, kept the buildings in repair, and received the entrance fees. — ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὅβολοῖν, in the two-obol seats, i. e. the seats of the common people, for which two obols were paid. Cf. Bœckh. *Publ. Econ. Athen.*, p. 304. The price is put for the place, and the expression seems to be colloquial ; so οἱ ἰχθύες = *the fish-market*, τὰ βιβλία = *the book-market*. Some Editt. prefer to take ἐν w. the dat. as expressing means, i. e. *by the payment of two obols*. — μικρῷ : this word is not found in the original reading of Σ, and is therefore omitted by the Editt. of our text. In retaining it w. the other MSS. I am particularly influenced by the remark of V. that the word is necessary to express the antithesis to τὰ δῆλα. The orator means this : to exercise care over such small matters as the expenditure of a few obols or the bestowal of some attention upon the guests of the state, this, as compared w. guarding the general interests (τὰ δῆλα) of the state, is not worth the mention.

§ 29. **ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ** : there are in all 35 of these documents referred to in the course of the oration, of wh. 28 purport to be given in full and 7 are mentioned only by name. The fact that in most of the speeches of the Attic orators the documents are omitted, their names merely being given, has of itself awakened suspicion concerning the genuineness of those contained in this oration. It is sufficient for the practical purpose of the student to know that the majority of modern critics regard these documents as spurious. The internal evidence for this opinion will be given in the case of a few. Those who desire to weigh the arguments pro and con upon this long-disputed question, are referred to Professor Champlin's summary in an Appendix to his edition of this oration ; to the paper of Professor W. W. Goodwin on *The Chronology of some of the Events mentioned in Dem. on the Crown*, in the "Transactions of the Amer. Philol. Assoc., 1871, 1872"; to Droysen in *Museum Rhenanum*, II., 1845 ; to Böhnecke's *συναγωγὴ ψηφισμάτων* in Vol. II. of his *Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1843 ; to Vœmel's 5 treatises, published in 1841–1845 ; to Bœckh's *de Archonibus Pseudonymis*; and to Westermann's *Untersuchungen über die in die Attischen Redner eingelegten Urkunden*. A fresh argument against the genuineness of these documents, based upon the enumeration of the στίχοι or lines in the MSS., is given by the Editor in the "Proceedings of the Amer. Philol. Assoc. for 1874–1875." The inconsistencies of the following document are these : **Μυησφίλου** : this decree was passed in 347 b. c., the year before the peace, and **Themistocles** was archon for that year. — **ἴκατομβαῶνος** : from **Æsch.** *de F. L.*, § 92, we learn that it was passed on the 3d of Munychion.

— **Πανδιονίδος**: acc. to *Aesch. de F. L.*, § 82, Dem. was the *πρόεδρος* or president for the day. But acc. to Schönm. (*Greek Antiq.*, p. 399) the *proedri* were chosen by the *ἐπιστάτης* of the *Prytanes* (for explanation of these terms cf. Dict. *Antiq.*) from the nine tribes which were not in the *prytany*; hence, if Dem. was *proedrus*, the tribe of Pandionis to which he belonged could not have been in the prytany at this time. — **Σεδόχθαι**, *be it moved or resolved*. — **τῷ δῆμῳ**: from Dem. *de F. L.*, § 154, we learn that the *δῆμος* had given the *βουλή* absolute power to pass decrees for the time being without this sanction; consequently the *δῆμος* had nothing to do w. this decree. — **πρώτῃ**: Dem. *de F. L.*, § 15, says: *εἰς τὴν ὑστεραλαν ἐν ἦ τῷ εἰρήνῃ* έδει κυροῦσθαι; and *Aesch. de F. L.*, § 61, mentions the 18th and 19th of Elaphebolion as the days of the Assembly; and Dem., l. c. § 57, says, the peace was adopted on the 19th (the *second* day of the Assembly). — **πέντε**: the number was *ten*. Cf. *Aesch. de F. L.*, § 97. — **ὑπερβολὴν**, *delay*; not so used in classical Greek. — **δοῦναι**: the Athenians had already given *their* oath. Cf. §§ 25, 26. — **Εὐβούλος, κ. τ. ἄ.**: Eubulus and *Aesch.* are well known, but the other names are probably fictitious, being found nowhere else except in the spurious *γραφή*, § 55, where *Kη.* and *Kλ.* figure as witnesses. In Dem. *de F. L.*, § 229, the names of 4 of these envoys are given: *Φιλοκράτης, Αἰσχίνης, Φρύνων, Δημοσθένης*.

§ 30. **γράψαντος...ζητοῦντος**, *although I had proposed...and was seeking*. The student will observe the difference of time expressed by these partic. — **χρηστοῖ**: ironical; cf. §§ 89, 318. — **τρεῖς δὲν μῆνας**: this is the *whole* time of the absence of the envoys. They took the tedious land route from *Oreus* to *Macedonia*, were 23 days on the way, and remained 27 days at Pella awaiting the return of Philip fr. Thrace. Cf. Dem. *de F. L.*, § 155. — **ἔξδν**: accus. absol.; cf. H. 973; G. 1569; Cu. § 586. — **τριῶν ἦ τεττάρων**: W. states that in this time one could go by water from Pella to any point of the Hellespont, and that in a direct line the distance was no greater than fr. Athens to Ephesus, to accomplish which three days were allowed. — **παρόθινον ἡμέν** = *εἰς ἡμεῖς παρῆμεν*; cf. G M T. 841; H. 971 b; G. 1563. 5; Cu. § 584. *If we had been present*, i. e. we, the Athenians, represented by the envoys. — **ἄν...ελγε**: the impf. to indicate that Philip was still holding the places. Critics call attention to the skill of the orator in stating the same fact from several points of view. This decree, e. g., is considered w. reference to (1) *its cause*; (2) *the end in view*; (3) *the result that followed its neglect*; (4) *the result that would have followed from its observance*.

§ 31. **τὸ μὲν...πρώτον**: observe that the antithesis is found in *ἕτερον δ'* below, and that within the compass of this sentence there is a subordinate antithesis between *ελέμμα μὲν* and *δωροδόκημα δὲ*. — **δωροδόκημα**, *piece of*

vileness. L. and S. give only the concrete meaning *bribe*. Cf. *κακούργημα* = *piece of villainy*. — *τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνθρώπων*: the spondaic rhythm of this sentence adds to its weight. — *καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ διμολογῶ*, κ. τ. ζ., *I avow that I not only then was, but now am, and ever shall be, at war and at variance*. — *εἰθὺς ἐφεξῆς*, *directly next in order*; modifying the idea of *κακούργημα*, i. e. that wh. occurred immediately after the *δωροδίκημα* mentioned above.

§ 32. *ἀπίλαμεν*: this is the reading of Σ and other MSS. of the better class. By the use of the *first* person in distinction fr. *αὐτῶν*, wh. refers to Aesch. and his party, the orator intimates that while he was a member of the embassy he was not implicated in the guilt of this delay. For the use of the subj. after *ἀνείσαι* histor. pres. cf. G M T. 318; H. 881 a; G. 1369; Cu. § 531 a, b. V. and W. read *ἀπίμεν*, wh. is found in Bekk. Anecd. p. 129; this is then taken as a future, cf. G M T. 339; H. 885; G. 1372; Cu. §§ 500, 553. — *ποιήσατο*: the optat. is regular after histor. pres. (*ἀνείσαι*). — *ἀπαγγελάντων ἡμῶν* = *εἰ ἡμεῖς ἀπηγγελαμεν*; the indic. to denote that the condition is assumed as real. — *μέλλει...παρασκευάζεται*: the pres. indic. states the fact in the *direct* narration. Give the Greek forms in the *indirect* narration. — *Πήδας*: cf. L. and S. II. 2. — *πρότερον*: after Philip had overrun Thessaly, he attempted, in the summer of 352 B. C., to effect a union with the Thebans against the Phocians; but he was unexpectedly frustrated by the Athenians, who sent an expedition under Nausicles to guard the pass of Thermopylae. Cf. Grote, Ch. LXXXVII. — *τὸν τόπον*, *the region*, i. e. *the pass*. The comm. reading is *πορθμόν*, wh. is not only contrary to Σ, but also erroneous in sense, since Philip's army was almost wholly a *land* force, and it was the *land* passage that was to be barred to his entrance.

§ 33. *οὕτω*: join w. *φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ*, *was in so great fear and anxiety that*. In like manner *πολύς*, though expressed but once, is understood with two subst. in § 209: *ναῦς καὶ πολλοὺς ἵππους*; in Lysias 30. 26: *χρήματα καὶ πολλὰς εἰσφοράς*. W. — *καὶ*: strongly concessive, *even though*. — *τοῦ...ἀπολέσθαι*: what kind of time is indicated by the aor. infin.? Cf. G M T. 96; H. 851; G. 1272; Cu. § 495 b, Obs. — *βοηθέν*, sc. *τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν*, wh. is retained by V. from the reading of Σ, but other Edit. omit as superfluous. — *μισθούται*: what is the distinction between the indic. and the infin. after *ῶστε?* Cf. G M T. 582; H. 927; G. 1450; Cu. § 565. — *τὸν...τουτού·*: the demonstr. force of the t. borders upon contempt, like the Lat. *iste*. *This despicable fellow here present*.

§ 34. *μεμνήσθαι*, sc. *ὑμᾶς*; a similar omission of the subj. of the infin. is found in §§ 17, 229. — *μὴ κατηγορήσαντος μηδὲν* = *εἰ μὴ κατηγόρησεν μηδὲν*; cf. note § 30. — *ἴτερον*, in the sense of *ἄλλοτρον* = *irrelevant*. Cf.

Ἐπερος δὲ λόγος οὗτος, § 44. — πάσας : in the sense of παντολας. — αἰτίας καὶ βλασφημίας, charges and calumnies = calumnious charges. Cf. αἰτίας καὶ διαβολὰς, § 7. — ἄμα, at the same time ; with the accusations contained in the indictment. Where previously has Dem. cast upon his opponent the blame of departing from the actual points at issue ?

§ 35. παρά, from, st. ὑπό, to indicate an idea of source. — δι' οὐς = propter quae verba, denoting cause ; δι' ὡν = quibus verbis, denoting instrument. — ως οὐ δεῖ : the direct form of narration to give vividness. — Εἶται... τὰν έχηθ': cf. G M T. 444; H. 898; G. 1403; Cu. § 545. — οἷς μὲν : the Phocians ; οἷς δὲ : the Thebans. — οὐ belongs to the entire sentence ; cf. § 17. — μάλα σεμνῶς δύνομάζων, "phrasing it pompously enough." — τὸ ταῦτα συμφέρειν, identity of interests. — τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος, stupore et molestia. V. The stolid insensibility of the Boeotian character gave rise to the proverbial βουρλία ὑς ; cf. ol ἀναισθήτης Θηβαῖος, § 43. Wh. renders βαρύτητος by overbearing insolence ; Jacobs, by Schwerfälligkeit. Oppressiveness is the rendering of Holmes.

§ 36. ὑπούσταν = lurking. The ill-feeling was chronic and ready to burst out into an open rupture. Cf. § 18 : ἀνέφησθῆναι, κ. τ. ἐ. — οὐκ εἰς μακράν, lit. not unto long (after) ; i. e. not at a point of time long subsequent to what has gone before. The prep. εἰς marks the terminus w. reference to wh. the action is considered. In § 151 is a similar use. The course of events was as follows : On the 13th of Scirophorion the envoys returned from Philip ; on the 16th they made their report to the Assembly ; on the 27th came the news that Phocis had fallen into the hands of Philip. The Phocian towns, 22 in number, were razed ; the people were deprived of their arms, excluded fr. the Amphictyonic council, and condemned to pay an annual tribute of 50 talents into the treasury of the Delphic temple, until they had restored what had been taken from the god. — ὑπάς δὲ ... σκευαγοργεῖν : upon receiving the intelligence of the destruction of the Phocian towns, the Athenians, fearing a sudden attack from Philip, resolved to summon the rural population to bring their loose effects (*σκευὴ*) and their wives and children within the shelter of the walls, and to put the Peiræus and the outposts of the city in a state of defence. — ἀπέχθεαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαῖος, the hostility on the part of the Thebans fell to the lot of the city. ἀπέχθεαν w. πρὸς occurs above in the subjective sense (our hostility towards them), here in the objective sense (their hostility towards us) as regards the Athenians. πρὸς w. the genit. would be usual to express the idea of on the part of, but the accus. implies motion or activity, and indicates that Athens had to place herself in an attitude of defence against Thebes. For a similar use of πρὸς w. accus. cf. Dem. de F. L., § 85 : ὅμην μὲν τὴν έχθραν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαῖος μείζω Φιλίππῳ δὲ τὴν χάρων πεποίηκεν. We are not to understand

that the ill-will of the Thebans against Athens now first arose, for Athens had favored the Phocians all along, but that it was increased at this time ; how, the orator tells us in his speech *de F. L.*, § 85 : "While Philip had determined from the first to favor the Thebans, *Aesch.*, by reporting the contrary and by showing that you were plainly not on the side of the Thebans, augmented their enmity against you and their gratitude to Philip."

§§ 37, 38. **ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ** : the genuineness of this decree is at once placed in doubt by the name of the archon and the date. Mnesiphilus is nowhere mentioned among the archons. *μαιμακτηριώνος δεκάτη ἀπόντος*, the 21st of *Mæmacterion*, is nearly 5 months after the time (the 27th of *Scirophorion*, cf. note § 36) that the intelligence of the destruction of Phocis caused so much alarm at Athens. It seems incredible that the Athenians should have waited so long to take the precautionary measures of this decree. Furthermore the contents do not agree with the statement of Dem. *de F. L.*, §§ 125, 126 : *καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατακομίζειν ἐψηφίσεσθε καὶ τὰ φρούρια ἐπισκευάζειν καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τειχίζειν καὶ τὰ Ἡράλεια ἐν ἀστεί θύειν. — συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας, in the Assembly convened. — ἵπδ στρατηγῶν καὶ πρυτάνεων, καὶ βουλῆς γνώμῃ* : most Editt. place a comma after *στρατηγῶν* and none after *πρυτάνεων* ; the punctuation here adopted is that of V., who believes that an extra Assembly could be convened by the generals only through the agency of the *prytanes*, and cites in support of his view Thuc. IV. 118. The *καὶ* before *βουλῆς* seems superfluous and is excluded by Dind. — *παρευρέσει* : we should expect *προφάσει*. The word is, if not an error, at least in this sense a barbarism. — *κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι* : "Greek of a later age, used twice by Polybius and once by Plutarch. The Greek of the period would substitute *κοιμᾶσθαι*. *ἀπόκοιτος* is classical, *Aesch.* p. 45, 1, 2 ; but *ἀποκοιτεῖν* (infin.) and *ἀφημερεύειν* are both *ἀπαξ λεγύμενα*. The great number of unclassical words in these documents is alone sufficient to condemn them as spurious." TYLER. — *ὅσοι μὴ...ἀποτελαγμένοι, as many as have not been detailed for the garrisons.* For the use of the indic. and the negat. *μὴ* cf. G M T. 534, 518 ; H. 913, 914 ; G. 1432, 1428. — *ἐπικρινέτω ὁ...στρατηγός* : acc. to Droysen the assignment of such a duty to any of the generals is contrary to all that is known of Athenian jurisprudence. — *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως, the general of the administration.* Acc. to Boeckh (*Publ. Econ. Athen.*, p. 247) this officer had certain judicial and administrative duties connected with the army. In § 115 he is charged with the duty of paying the soldiers. — *ἄρα* : how different from *ἅπα* ? Its strong ironical force here must not be overlooked. — The emphatic words *ταῦταις* and *μισθωτός* stand first and last in the sentence.

§ 39. **ΕΠΙΣΤΟΔΗ** : however well the haughty tone of this epistle seems to harmonize with the character of Philip, there can be no doubt of

its spuriousness as soon as we notice its contradictions to what we know of the circumstances connected w. the conquest of Phocis. Notice (1) the contradiction between the intent and meaning of the letter as quoted in § 40, and its actual tenor. (2) Directly contrary to the statement of the letter, Diod. Sic. 16. 59, says: *οι δὲ Φωκεῖς συντριβέντες ταῖς ἐλπίσιν παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀνευ μάχης ἀνεπίστως καταλύσας τὸν λερὸν πόλεμον.* Similar is the testimony of Dem. *de F. L.*, § 61: *μηδεμαν τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι αλλῶν πολιορκίᾳ μηδ' ἐκ προσβολῆς κατὰ κράτος.* (3) In the genuine letter it seems probable that Philip gave some reasons to justify his proceedings against the Phocians. — **χαίρειν**, greeting; the usual form of salutation. — **ἴαντος** = **ἡμᾶς αὐτούς**; cf. H. 686 a; G. 995; Cu. § 471, Obs. c. — **τοῖς δλοῖς**, altogether. So **τοῖς δλοῖς σφαλῆναι** = *to be altogether ruined.* — **μέτριον ποιεῖν**, *to act with moderation or fairness.* Diss. regards the expression as a euphemism for *male agitis*; Holmes makes it a meiosis for *you seem to do anything but what is fair.* — **δμως**, *in like manner*, as though the peace had not been concluded; almost equivalent to **δμως** = *nevertheless.* For a similar sense cf. § 110. — **ἴει τοῦ ἐφθακέναι ἀδικοῦντες**, *beyond that of being the aggressors in doing wrong.*

§ 40. **ἀκούετε**: indic., as would be expected after the reading of a document; cf. §§ 121, 158. The imperat. would naturally be used when a document is to follow. — **πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους**: the allies referred to are the Thebans and Thessalians; the phrase is to be joined directly to **δηλοῖς καὶ διορίζεται**, as is indicated by the punctuation in our text. Benseleer, *Hiatus*, p. 94, says that fr. the repetition of the prep. **πρὸς** it may be inferred that the clause **ἐν...ἐπιστολῇ** is to be taken as a parenthesis. Diss. and others understand **συμμάχους** as explanatory of **ὑμᾶς**; but why then **πρὸς**, and what is the sense? It seems probable that Philip had acquainted his allies w. his correspondence w. the Athenians, and that from the genuine letter sent by Philip at this time they could more readily discern the sentiment expressed in **ώστ' εἰ περ...έμοι δὲ πιστεύετε**, than we can fr. this counterfeit document. — **ἐκ τούτων ὥχετο ἐκένους λαβών**, *by these means he hurried them along with him.* **οἴχομαι τι λαβών** = *I am off with something*, a frequent combination denoting an irresistible and sudden carrying away. *Animos illorum rapuit.* Bremi. — **εἰς τὸ...προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα, κ. τ. ἐ,** *so far that they did not even foresee nor become aware of any of the consequences.* **εἰς** expresses the point to wh. he had carried them, and w. **τὸ** and the infin. is nearly equivalent to **ώστε** of result. — **ἴασμα**: notice the striking contrast between the use of the aor. and of the pres. in *αἰσθάνεσθαι* and *προορᾶν*. — **ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ**: the dat. denotes the *state of subjection*; in § 39 the acc. **ὑφ' ἑαυτούς** denotes the *process of subjugation.* — **οἱ ταλαιπωροί**, sc.

Θηβαῖοι. So read Z., Bekk., Dind., following Σ; all other MSS. and Editt. have Θηβαῖοι either before or after κέχρηται. The reference is primarily to the condition of the Thebans after the destruction of their city in 335 b. c. As to the omission of the name, it is argued, on the one hand, that to express it would exclude any allusion to the Thessalians, who, though not so badly off as the Thebans, were after all not wholly out of the mind of Dem. as having suffered injury fr. their connection w. Philip; cf. *Phil.*, II. § 22; III. § 26. On the other hand, it is argued that the omission of Θηβαῖοι fr. Σ must be accidental, since the orator proceeds in the next paragraph to describe just their condition.

§ 41. ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πίστεως, κ. τ. ἐ., and his co-operator and helpmate (*αὐτῷ* depends on *σὺν* in composition) in winning this confidence, sc. in Philip on the part of the Thebans and Thessalians. — φενάκιστας: a word taken from the ordinary speech of the people and frequently used by Aristophanes, derived fr. φέναξ = *quack, impostor.* — διεξιών, rehearsing; cf. note on *έτραγόδει*, § 13. — ἀπάντων: differs fr. *τάντων* in summing up and combining the preceding particulars in one entirety; it may be rendered by *of all together.* — καὶ...καὶ...καὶ...αἵτιος; the energy and compactness of such sentences as this justify the praise of Quint., X., Ch. I., § 76: “so tense, as it were, with nerves, so free from anything superfluous.” — δῆλον often introduces an ironical sentence, *for you forsooth grieve, etc.* — ξέπτομην: after the destruction of Thebes, Alex. demanded the surrender of the principal anti-Macedonian orators, among whom Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides were the chief ones. Acc. to Diod. 17. 15, there were ten of them; but Arrian, *Anab.* I. 10, mentions only nine. For further information cf. A. Schaef., III. p. 127.

§ 42. ἀλλὰ γὰρ = Lat. *at enim.* The ellipsis is something like this: *but (enough of this now) for;* cf. § 211. — ἐμπέπτωκα: as if unintentionally. — αὕτικα, presently, i. e. in the immediate future. — ἐπάνεμι δὴ...ὅς, κ. τ. ἐ., *I will return accordingly...that,* etc. — δὴ calls attention to something just stated. The statement introduced by ὡς is a renewal of the proposition made in § 20, and the narration is resumed fr. § 36. — γὰρ: epexegetical, to introduce the promised proofs; cf. the beginning of § 169.

§ 43. οἱ κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοί: the Thessalians were especially despised and hated by the rest of the Greeks. Diss. quotes the following epithets as applied to them: στάσεως μεστοί, ἀπιστοί, διπλοί καὶ ποικίλοι. — ἀνασθητοί: cf. note § 35. — πάντ', *all in all;* cf. Thuc. VIII. 95: Εἴβοια γὰρ αὐτοῖς πάντα ἦν. — οἴδε...ἡκουον, εἰ...βούλοιτο: a mixed condit. sent., w. the apodosis in the indic. st. optat. w. *δύ* to denote the *actual fact*, and in the imperf. to indicate that this fact was *habitual or customary.* — ιφορώμενοι = *suspicantes.* — οὐ γὰρ ἔν δ τι ἀποτελεῖτε, *for there was nothing*



that you could have done. οὐκ ἔστι δοτίς is more frequently found than οὐδεὶς ἔστιν δοτίς in general negations. Cf. Eurip. *Medea*, 1306; id. *Phæn.*, 597; Aesch. *Choeph.*, 170. For the indic. w. δν cf. G M T. 243, 244; H. 903; G. 1335, 1336, 1340; Cu. § 544, Obs. 3.—καλ...δὲ : in this combination of conjunctions καλ generally expresses the comparative idea, *also, as well as.* — ἵγον τὴν εἰρήνην : Dind., V., and other Editt. read δομένοι καλ after this expression. V. claims that this addition is forcible, as making the folly of the Greeks all the more patent. — αὐτὸν τρόπον...πολεμούμενοι, although they themselves were in a certain manner the object of his warlike operations for a long time. A similar concessive force of the partic. is found in παρών, §§ 83, 117; ἔχων, εἰδώς, § 142; κρατοῦντι, § 146. — ἐκ πολλοῦ : ἐκ indicates the point from which the danger began.

§ 44. γὰρ : epexegetical, to explain τρόπον τινὰ πολεμούμενοι. — περιεῖν, marching and countermarching. — Ἰλλυρίους καλ Τριβάλλους : the Illyrians were subdued by Philip, acc. to Diod. XVI. 69, in 345 b. c. The invasion of the Triballi is brought by Justin, IX. 3, in connection with the Scythian expedition in 339 b. c. The whole period, accordingly, between the conclusion of the peace and the renewal of hostilities is referred to. — τινὰς...τῶν Ἑλλήνων : during this period Philip supported Messenia and Argos against Sparta, seized the colonies of Elis in Epirus; placed Macedonian garrisons under Cleitarchus and Philistides in Oreus and Eretria, occupied the Thracian Chersonesus, and threatened the Athenian possessions on the Hellespont. — τῶν ἐκ τῶν τόλεων = τῶν ἐν ταῖς τόλεσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν. This form of *Brachylogy* is frequent. K. § 300. 4, calls it *attraction of the preposition*. Cf. Xen. *Anab.*, I. 1. 5 : δοτίς δ' ἀφικνοῦτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως = τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ δυτῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀφικνοῦτο. So in this oration, § 145 : τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων = τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γιγνομένων ἐξ αὐτῆς. Cf. §§ 169, 213 for similar instances. — ἐκεῖσε, proceeding thither, i. e. to Pella, where Philip had his court. The allusion is to the scheming and treacherous politicians in the allied cities of Athens, who, under the sanction of the peace, went so often to Philip on the errands of traitors. — οὗτος, sc. Aesch. But had his bribery commenced only then? — ἐτερος δ λόγος οὗτος, this is the concern of another. ἐτερος = ἀλλότριος, cf. note § 34.

§ 45. παρ' ὑμῖν : of the speeches made in protest by Dem. at this time we have but one preserved, the second Philippic. — δυοι : some of these places are mentioned in § 244. In *Phil.*, II., § 19; III., § 72, reference is made to the two embassies to the Peloponnesus upon wh. Dem. went. — ἐνδέσσουν, were diseased. Dem. likes to compare the disorders of the body politic with those of the physical organism. Cf. § 296. — τῶν μὲν...τῶν δὲ, on the one hand, those engaged in public life and service were become venal

and corrupt for the sake of (*ἐπι* = with a view to) gain ; while, on the other hand, those in private life and the masses (supply *τῶν* before πολλῶν). πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττει, δωροδοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρούντων are instances of pleonasm wh. Diss. praises as “*bona latitudo dictionis*,” but Schaefer condemns. — τὰ μὲν...τὰ δέ : partly...partly. — δελεαζομένων, κ. τ. ἐ., caught with the brunt of the ease and comfort of the present moment. — τοιουτού τι πάθος, being affected in some such way as this. What this affection was, οἱομένων, κ. τ. ἐ., states. — πλὴν οὐκ : Dobræus rejects πλὴν from the text. But the use of both these adverbs adds great force to the thought : they supposed the terrible thing would come, only not upon themselves, i. e. it would come everywhere else except there. πλὴν οὐκ is quite frequent after πάντες. Cf. Xen. *Lac.*, XV. 6 ; Dem. 56, p. 1290 : πλέουσα πανταχόσε, πλὴν οὐκ εἰς Ἀθήνας. — ἔτερων depends on καδίνων. — δταν βούλωνται : each state cherished the delusive hope that it could preserve itself by directing the attack of Philip upon the others. This paragraph gives a striking picture of the demoralized and hopeless condition of Greek national life.

§ 46. οἵμαι : how do οἵμαι and οἴμαι commonly differ in Attic usage ? — ἀντὶ = in return for. — τοῖς προεστηκόσι, the leaders. — καὶ connects the two particc. ; supply τοῖς before οἱομένοις ; cf. τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν above. — πεπρακόσιν : for the partic. constr. cf. H. 982 ; G. 1588 ; Cu. §§ 589. 1, 591. The dat. is by attraction to agree w. the obj. of συμβέβηκε (τοῖς προεστηκόσι) st. w. the omitted subj. of αἰσθάνεσθαι. — ξένων : a ξένος is a friend plighted by the ties of hospitality ; Germ. *Gastfreund*. — ἀκούονται, like the Lat. *audient* = they hear themselves called, bear the name of. After this word many texts insert εἰκέτως, wh. is not found in Σ, Laur. S. “Sæpe etiam additum a scribis ad γάρ ellipticum explicandum, ante quod supplenda εἰκέτως, οὐθαυμαστόν, talia.” V.

§ 47. ἀν = τούτων ἀ. — ἀν πρίγται : cf. G M T. 532, 563 ; H. 919 a ; G. 1431, 1439 ; Cu. § 554. — γάρ : elliptical ; supply ἀλλως or εἰ δὲ μή, wh. forms the condition to the apodosis ἀν ἦν. Dem. here makes use of a rhetorical syllogism : If the traitor secures the permanent favor of those whom he serves, he is of all men the most fortunate. But he is cast off as soon as he has served his purpose ; ergo, he is not the most fortunate, but the opposite. To illustrate this statement, examples are given in the next paragraph. — πόθεν : whence can it be ? impossible ! Cf. §§ 52, 140. Of similar emphasis are πῶς γάρ, § 312 ; πῶς γάρ οἴ, § 299. — ἐγκρατήσ...καταστῆ, has established himself in full possession of his object. “καταστῆ suggests the security of his position, ἐγκρατήσ the completeness of his conquest.” HOLMES. — καὶ...ἔστι, he is also. The indic. (ἔστι) shows that this sentence forms the apodosis to ἐπειδάν καταστῆ. The sentiment is forcibly brought out in the words of Habington quoted by Wh. :

"Mischief while it prospers brings favor from the smile of kings;
Useless, soon is thrown away."

— τότε δὴ, from that very moment.

§ 48. καὶ γάρ: an instance of the well-known elliptical use of γάρ w. καὶ: and (*it is well that you should do this*) for; generally the καὶ in this use may best be left untranslated, but its force as making the causal sentence more emphatic should always be *felt*, if not expressed. — μέχρι τούτου...ἔως, until that moment...until; a repetition like πρότερον...πρίν for the sake of emphasis. Thuc., I. 90, § 3, has μέχρι τοσούτου ἔως. — Δαυθένης: by delivering 500 cavalry men into Philip's hands during the siege of Olynthus, betrayed his own city. Cf. Diod., XVI. 53. — Τιμόλαος: in § 295 the same name occurs in the Doric form. Acc. to Theopompus, as quoted by Athenaeus, Timolaus was one of the most debauched men and corrupt politicians of his time. Deinarchus, I., § 74, makes him for scandal's sake the friend of Dem. — Εὐδίκος, Σίμος: acc. to Harpocration were two of the tetrarchs among whom Philip, in 342 b. c., apportioned the jurisdiction of Thessaly. — πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη, the whole habitable world, i. e. the Grecian world. In his *Orat. de Halonn.*, § 35, Dem. contrasts ἡ οἰκουμένη with ἀλλη τις χώρα, manifestly meaning his own country in a general sense. — μετὰ γέγονεν: the ordinary reading adds προδότῶν: became full of traitors driven about and suffering insult. But V., Bekk., W., Z., Sauppe, following Σ, omit this word and make the partic. agree w. τούτων understood and referring to the individuals just named. V. thinks that Dem. is here speaking only of the contempt in wh. these traitors were held, elsewhere (sc. § 295) of their great number; and he understands μετῆ of the notoriety of their fate, wh. filled all Greece. More natural seems to us the interpretation of W., that all Greece was full of, i. e. sated with, wearied of these men driven from city to city and everywhere despised and maltreated. — τι: supply πέτονθεν fr. πασχόντων above. — Ἀρίστρατος: tyrant of Sicyon, mentioned in § 295 and in Plut. *Vit. Arnt.*, 13. — Περίλαος: attempted in 343 b. c. to deliver Megara into the hands of Philip by the aid of Macedonian mercenaries. His attempt failed through aid sent by the Athenians under Phocion.

§ 49. οὐτος...τὸ ἔκεινον...περιποιεῖ, he it is "who secures to you the opportunity of getting bribes." KENN. The patriotic citizen in guarding his country's independence affords thereby the traitor the opportunity itself of making his nefarious gain. — καὶ διδ, κ. τ. δ.: the force of the διδ after διδοι continues here. — τοὺς πολλοὺς τοντῷν: refers to the majority of the populace that had supported the measures of the patriotic party. — τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους: refers to the orators and leaders of that party. — ἀν ἀπολώλετε: forms the apodosis to a protasis implied in διά γε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, as



if it were *εἰ ὑμεῖς κατεπράξασθε τὰς ἁυτῶν γυνώμας*. The plupf. because of the peculiar meaning of *ἀπόλωλα*.

§§ 50–52. CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST PART OF THE ORATION. ALEXANDER'S FRIEND IS ALEXANDER'S HIRELING. *εἰρήσθαι*: the infin. depends on the adj. *Ικανῶν*. Cf. G M T. 763; H. 952; G. 1528; Cu. § 562. — *ἐωλοκρασίαν*, *dregs, stale mess, foulness*, are the best translations. Bekker's *Anecdota* defines this word as *the lees of wine* and *dregs* of a night's debauch, that were poured out by the revellers upon such as had fallen asleep amid the excesses of the feast. Hermogenes the rhetorician cites this as one of the boldest metaphors of the orator. *Ἄστερ* apologizes for its use. The application is obviously to the stale and hashed-up charges of treachery wh. *Æsch.* was seeking to turn away from himself upon Dem. — *Ἴν...πρὸς...ἀπολύσασθαι*, of which it was essential that I clear myself before those younger than the events. *πρὸς* w. accus. denotes the aim of the action in *ἀπολύσασθαι*; he must vindicate himself to those younger, etc. As the events referred to occurred between 348 and 346 b. c., from 18 to 16 years ago, and a dicast need not be more than 30 years old, it is probable that some of the members of the court were at the time of these events mere boys of 14 or 16 years. — *παρηγάχλησθε*: what peculiarity in the inflection? — *μισθαρνίαν*: this word is placed purposely at the end in order to give better occasion for the following refutation.

§ 51. *ξείλαν*, *hospitality*, or more properly *guest-friendship*. Cf. note on *ξένων*, § 46. — *ποῦ λέγων* = *somewhere in his speech*. — *ξένον...φίλον*: correspond to *φίλαν...ξείλαν*, but with the order reversed for the sake of variety.

§ 52. *μισθωτὸν*: emphatic position. — *πάτερον...ἢ*: cf. H. 1017; G. 1606; Cu. § 611. — *μισθωτὸς...ξένος*: the emphatic order in English is the reverse, that alternative coming last wh. the speaker expects in response. As regards this appeal itself, the following explanations are presented in the order of our preference: (1) Dem. felt sure of a favorable response from his avowed adherents, and was already conscious of the favor of a large part of the jury. He therefore felt safe in risking a direct appeal. Cicero in *Orat.*, 31, 111, *Brut.*, 84, 290, tells us how the orators would move their auditors to loud assent and dissent. A clear instance of such direct appeal and responsive assent is found in Dem. c. *Aristocr.*, § 19: Dem. asks: *περὶ τοῦ παραβόντος βούλεσθε πρῶτον* The jury is supposed to reply *yes*; and Dem. rejoins, *τοῦτο τοινυν ἔροῦμεν*. (2) The whole passage is a later addition made by Dem. upon a revision of his speech, in order to give it more the appearance of an extemporeous effort. This is the opinion of Diss., who adds § 138 as another instance of a later insertion on the ground of its being too harsh a criticism upon the jury to be spoken at the time. (3) The orator expected no

response ; mere silence would give assent. But to this opinion ἀκούεις seems opposed, as also the well-known custom for the jury to express loud assent or dissent. (4) Acc. to Ulpian, Dem. purposely mispronounced and said μισθωτος, and the critical Athenians at once correcting him replied w. overwhelming voice μισθωτος, as if in answer to his appeal. That such a trick would be wholly unworthy of the orator need hardly be said.

SECOND DIVISION OF THE ORATION.

§§ 53 - 125. FORMAL ANSWER TO THE INDICTMENT. (a) §§ 53 - 59. INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE CHARGES. (b) §§ 60 - 109. REFUTATION OF FIRST COUNT IN THE INDICTMENT : THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION OF DEM. JUSTIFIED. (c) §§ 110 - 119. REFUTATION OF SECOND COUNT IN THE INDICTMENT : DEM. NOT ACCOUNTABLE FOR THAT WHICH WAS THE GROUND OF THE PROPOSAL TO CROWN HIM. (d) §§ 120 - 122. REFUTATION OF THIRD COUNT IN THE INDICTMENT : THE PROCLAMATION IN THE THEATRE NOT ILLEGAL. (e) §§ 123 - 125. TRANSITION FROM THE SECOND TO THE THIRD DIVISION OF THE ORATION, FROM THE DEFENCE TO THE ATTACK.

(a) §§ 53 - 59. ήδη = Lat. *tandem*. — καλ : correlated w. καλ before πολλῷ — προβεβουλευμένων refers to the proposed crowning wh. was as yet only in the form of a *preliminary decree* (*προβούλευμα*) passed by the βουλή, and wh. had first to be passed by the ἐκκλησία before it became a ψήφισμα. — δίκαιος : why not in the accus. ? Cf. H. 940 ; G. 927 ; Cu. § 570.

§§ 54, 55. ΓΡΑΦΗ : manifestly not genuine, as appears fr. the following : Χαρώνδου should be Φρυνίχου. Chærondas was Archon at the time when Dem. first proposed the reparation of the walls, wh., acc. to Aesch., § 27, was the 29th of Thargelion (about the 1st of June), 337 B. c. Three days later Dem. was elected Commissioner of Walls. But the date of this document is the 6th of Elaphebolion (about the middle of March), more than two months earlier. This document then would make out that Ctesiphon was indicted for an alleged offence two months before it had been committed ! — Κοθωκίδης, of *Cothocidae* ; an Attic deme of the tribe Οeneis. Its situation is unknown. — ἀπήνεγκε... παρανόμων, brought or lodged a charge (*γραφή* understood, as often in forensic usage) of illegality. How improbable it is that the bill of indictment should itself mention its own process at law. Cf. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 607. — πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα, i. e. the Archon Eponymus. But the process of the γραφὴ παρανόμων came properly before the Thesmoothetæ. Cf. Dem. c. *Leptin.*, § 98 ; c. *Aristog.*,

§ 8.—**Αναφλυστόν**: Anaphlystus was a deme of the tribe Antiochis, and was situated a little to the northwest of Sunium, on the western shore. — **ἅρα** indicates a citation; we expect, therefore, a literal quotation of the decree of Ctesiphon. But we notice the absence of *καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις*, wh. is cited in § 57; and, acc. to *Æsch.*, § 34, *ἀναγορεῦσαι* below should be followed by *πρὸς τὸν Ἑλληνα*. The pretended *ψήφισμα* in § 118 is of too doubtful authority to serve as a criterion for this *γραφὴ*. — **Πανανία**: Pæania was the name of the two Attic demes, upper and lower P., of the tribe Pandionis, situated on the east side of Mt. Hymettus. — **στεφάνω**: crowns of olive, myrtle, laurel, and ivy were originally bestowed upon the victors in the national games. In later times, just when it is difficult to determine, crowns of gold were bestowed. In the period of Dem. civic crowns of gold were presented to that trierarch who was the first to furnish an equipped vessel to the Athenian navy, and to public men who had deserved well of the state. But this custom soon degenerated into a mark of political favor. Cf. Dict. Antiq. *Corona*. — **Διονυσίου τοῖς μεγάλοις**: for an account of the Dionysiac festivals cf. Dict. Antiq. *The great Dionysia* occurred in March, and were the gala days of the year, when Athens was crowded w. strangers and deputies fr. foreign states. At this festival the *new tragedies* were first brought out. — **ὅτι στεφανοῖ** depends on *ἀναγορεῦσαι*. — **ἀρετῆς**: the generic term covers both the special points of merit: *καὶ εὐνοα... καὶ ἀνδραγαθία*. — **τῶν νόμων... καταβάλλεσθαι**, since the laws do not allow, in the first place, that false documents be inserted in the public archives. If it could be shown that the statements in regard to Dem. were untrue, Ctesiphon was guilty of violating the law just stated. This is the first count in the indictment. It is to be remarked that while no such specific law as this can be shown to have existed, it was plainly against the spirit of the law in general, or against the common law, to introduce untrue statements in the public archives. This is what *Æsch.*, § 50, means: *ἄταρες γάρ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι μηδένα ψευδῆ γράμματα ἔγγραφειν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ψηφίσμασι*. — **εἴτα**, in the next place; introducing the second count in the indictment. — **τὸν ὑπείθυνον**: all public officers, except the Dicasts, were obliged to render account of their office, and generally within 30 days after its termination, before the board of Auditors (*λογισταί*), and their associates the Investigators (*εὑθυνοί*). For a full account of the duties of these officials cf. Bæckh *Publ. Econ.*, p. 262 ff.; Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 100 ff. — **τειχοπολές**, Commissioner of Walls; this was one of the most important of the civil offices. — **τῶν θεωρικῶν**, the *Theoric Fund*, was a fund set apart to defray the expenses of the public games and festivals. Pericles first introduced the custom of giving as largess to the populace the two-obol entrance-fee to the theatre,

which was paid from this fund. In the time of Dem. the *theoricon* had become a powerful means of corruption in the hands of politicians. Boeckh (*Publ. Econ.*, p. 311) estimates that the lowest annual expenditure for the *theoricon* at this period was from twenty-five to thirty talents, and that this amount may occasionally have been doubled or trebled. Justin, as quoted by Boeckh, remarks: "Then were the public revenues, w. wh. previously soldiers and rowers had been maintained, distributed among the citizens of Athens"; and B. adds: "Thus Philip was enabled to raise his head." — ἀναγορέαν and ἀναπτεῖν below depend on κελευθτῶν, wh. is to be supplied from οὐκ ἔστων above. — τῇ καινῇ: Wolff supplies εἰσόδῳ; Reiske, ἐπιδεῖξει or ἀγωνίᾳ; V. παρόδῳ. — τίμητα, *penalty, damages*. There were two kinds of suits or actions in the Athenian courts: (1) ἀγώνες ἀτιμητοὶ, in wh. the penalty was fixed and attached by law; (2) ἀγώνες τιμητοὶ, in wh. the penalty was to be assessed by the jury. The γραφὴ παρανόμων belonged to the latter. — κλήτροι: κλητῆρες was the usual form. These were the *witnesses* to the serving of the summons (*πρόσκλησις*). There were commonly two, and their names were always appended to the bill. — Κηφισοφάν...Κλέων: cf. note § 29.

§ 56. τοῦ φηφίσματος: partit. genit. with *a*. A similar constr. is found in §§ 59, 118. The decree is that of Ctesiphon. — πρῶτον, *most of all, chiefly*. — τὴν αὐτὴν τούτην τάξιν, *the same order as this one*; i. e. the order followed by Aesch. in drawing up the bill of indictment, *not* the order of his speech, where, probably w. a view to making his strongest points (sc. the technical points of the time and place of crowning) most prominent, he departs fr. the order of the indictment. Dem. was entirely consistent in demurring against the demand (§§ 1, 2) of his rival to follow the order of his *speech*, and just in taking advantage of the order of the *indictment*, by wh. he could place his weakest (the technical) points in the middle of his speech, where they would attract least notice.

§ 57. τοῦ...γράψα...ἔπαινεν, *as regards the statement that, etc., and the praise bestowed*; these verbal nouns in the genit. depend on κρίσι. — εἴτε...εἴτε καὶ: Diss. notices that when a speaker prefers the former of two alternatives he is apt to insert *καὶ* after the second *εἴτε*. So in § 58: εἴτε δέξο...εἴτε καὶ μή; Plat. *Theat.*, p. 168: εἴτε ταῦτα εἴτε καὶ ἀλλο ἐπιστήμην καὶ αἰσθησίας.

§ 58. τὸ δὲ μή προσγράψαντα...στέφανον states the *second* point of the indictment; καὶ ἀνεπεῖν...κελεῦσαι states the *third* point. The entire sentence τὸ...κελεῦσαι is summed up by τοῦτο and forms the subject of κοινωνεῖν = *is connected with*. On the constr. of the subordinate parts of the sentence critics are divided between these three opinions: (1) στέφανον, like ἀνεπεῖν, depends on κελεῦσαι w. the omitted subject of wh.

(αὐτὸς) προσγράψαντα agrees; (2) στεφανῶν depends on γράψαι supplied fr. προσγράψαντα; and as for his proposing to crown without adding (πρός) the proviso "when he has given in his accounts," and having ordered proclamation of the crown to be made in the theatre; (3) στεφανῶν is coördinate w. κελεῦσαι and subj. of κοινωνεῖν. The first constr. is adopted by the largest number, and seems, on the whole, the most natural. — ἐν τούτοις: *inter hos cives*. οὐτοί is often used by the orators to refer to the demus or *plebs* in the Assembly and court. — ἔτι μέντοι, still however. μέντοι is correl. of μὲν with κοινωνεῖν. — ἀπλῶς, as opposed to τεχνικῶς; hence, artlessly, without duplicity. — Εὗνωκα, I have determined.

§ 59. ἀπαρτᾶν, lit. to hang away from, hence to separate, to disconnect. And let no one suppose that I am disconnecting my speech from the indictment. Dem. wishes to guard against the charge of irrelevancy. Upon this Lord B. remarks: "The extreme importance to Dem. case of the skilful movement, so to speak, by wh. he availed himself of Aesch. error, and at once entered upon the subject of his whole administration, thus escaping the immediate charge to wh. he had no answer, and overwhelming his adversary by a triumphant defence on ground of his own choosing, required that he should again and again defend this movement, wh. he here does very carefully." — Ελληνικὰ πράξας, Hellenic affairs and discussions, in distinction fr. Athenian; what w. us is called the *Foreign Department*. This distinction is made more clear in § 109. — τοῦ φηφίσματος depends on the whole sentence τὸ λέγειν...με. — εἴτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέστων, κ. τ. ἐ, accordingly also, there being many departments of public life open to my selection; sc. such as those of finance, of war, of navy; καὶ anticipates the force of the καὶ before τὰς ἀποδεῖξεις.

(b) §§ 60–109. I. §§ 60–72. WHAT THE CONDITION OF GREECE DEMANDED OF ATHENS. οὖν resumes the statement at the close of § 58, wh. was interrupted by the apology offered in § 59. The student cannot be too careful in noticing the exact and delicate force of these particles and conjunctions. — δ...πρὸ...δημητορεῖν προσλαβεῖ: here Dem. refers to the period prior to the peace of Philocrates, 346 B. C., during which period Philip had taken Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, and Olynthus. Dem. disavows responsibility for the conduct of affairs, until, as the acknowledged head of the Anti-Macedonian party, he dictated the foreign policy of the state (ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην), wh. was from about 343 B. C. — δ...καὶ διεκωλύθη, but in what he was especially thwarted. The intensive force of καὶ w. the verb must be noticed. It was not Philip's successes, some of wh. he gained even after the entrance of Dem. upon public life, but his failures that Dem. now wishes to speak of. Attention is called by several critics to the skilful choice of the word διεκωλύθη, wh., by implying that Dem. acted upon the

defensive, prepares the way for the subsequent argument that all his measures were *defensive* and that he cannot, therefore, be charged w. the guilt of originating a war that brought ruin upon his country. — τοσοῦτον ἴππεπάν : *having premised thus much*, as foundation (*ὑπό*) of the argument. — πλεονέκτημα : derivat.? Notice the *Asyndeton*.

§ 61. φορὰν : cf. L. and Sc., II. B. 3. — προδοτῶν...ἀνθράπτων : notice the cumulative force of these epithets. — θεοῖς ἔχθρῷ : “*God-detested*. The phrase is used almost as if it were a single word, otherwise the abrupt introduction of the dat. would be rather inelegant.” HOLMES. — γεγονίαν : w. what verbs is the supplementary partic. joined instead of the infin. ? Cf. G M T. 878, 904 ; H. 981-984 ; G. 1579, 1588 ; Cu. §§ 590, 593. — καὶ πρότερον κακῶς...διθῆκε, *the Greeks, even previously disaffected towards one another and factious, he made still worse disposed*. The two adverbs in -ως are placed as far apart as possible for the sake of emphasis. — τοὺς μὲν, *some*, as e. g. the Athenians, by the peace of 346 B. C.; τοὺς δὲ, *others by bribing*, as e. g. the Thebans who were loaded w. favors for their coöperation in the destruction of Phocis. — τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρων, *by corrupting them in every possible way*. The expression is climacteric and embraces both classes described by τοὺς μὲν and τοὺς δὲ. W. makes διαφθείρων refer to the Phocians in the sense of *destroying*; but in Dem. the prevailing sense of the word is *corrumpere*. Cf. § 295. — κωλύειν : explanatory of τοῦ συμφέροντος.

§ 62. ἐν τοιαύτῃ...τῇ πόλιν : the rhetorical order of this sentence is such that, while the connection w. the preceding sentence is made most clear, the emphatic words are made most prominent. — συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ, *of the gathering and growing mischief*. Wh. The Z. Edit. reads φυομένου based upon Σ, wh. has φυ ομένου; but the sense is decidedly better w. the reading of the other MSS., wh. is φυομένου. — πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν : rhetorical pleonasm, in wh. the distinction in meaning is hardly felt. Cf. § 246. — ἐνταῦθα...τῇ πολιτείᾳ, *at that point of the administration*.

§ 63. πότερον...ἢ : cf. H. 1017 ; G. 1606 ; Cu. § 611. — Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων : these are mentioned because of the general contempt in wh. they were held and because of their Anti-Hellenic policy. Cf. Herod., VII. 132, 185. — συγκατακτᾶθαι Φιλίττῳ, *to have joined in acquiring for Philip*. — καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων...ἀναιρέν, “*et majorum decora et jura evertere, qui pro libertate Graeciae gloriosissime pugnârunt et principatum meruere facinoribus egregiis.*” Diss. — κωλύσει, st. κωλύσοι, the form of the direct narration for the sake of liveliness. Cf. Aesch. c. *Cles.*, § 90. — ὡς λούκεν, *prefecto*. Diss. remarks that this phrase has not rarely an ironical force; as in Engl. we may say: “I suppose,” of what is very certainly known.

§ 64. ἀλλὰ νῦν, κ. τ. ἐ : this sentence simply repeats in another form the idea of the preceding ; συναυτίας corresponding to συγκατακτᾶσθαι, and περιεωρακύλιας to περιδεῖν above. — ἔθούλετ' ἀν, he would wish ; the indic. w. ἀν denotes that the condition for realizing the wish is unfulfilled. Cf. G M T. 243, 244, 246 ; H. 903 ; G. 1336, 1337, 1339 ; Cu. § 537. — τῆς συναυτίας, sc. μερός, the party that was the joint-cause of. — ἀν εἴποι : what protasis may be supplied in thought ? Cf. G M T. 235 ; H. 872 a ; G. 1328 ; Cu. § 544. — ἐπὶ τῇ...θλπίδι, with a view to the hope ; ἐπὶ w. the dat. denoting the purpose or object for which. — Ἀρκάδας...Μεσσηνίους...Ἀργείους : the Arcadians and Messenians, Pausanias says (VII. 15. 6 ; VIII. 6. 2 ; IV. 28. 2), kept themselves wholly aloof in the last decisive struggle of Athens against Philip. The Argives had sought Philip's friendship and protection against Sparta. Cf. Isocr. *Phil.*, § 74.

§ 65. ἀπηλλάχαστιν, have come off. — καὶ γάρ = Lat. enim. — ήν ἀν...εντιωθέντων : so reads Σ. The reading διως ήν ἀν...οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντων found in Reiske, Taylor, Diss., Bremi, Dind., and other Edit., is due to a false interpretation of this passage. Dem. wishes to justify himself and the Athenians in their opposition to Philip, and says substantially this : Had Philip, when he had gained the upper hand (*ἐκράτησε*, wh. points to the close of the Phocian war, in wh. Philip had at least the appearance of doing right in punishing the violators of the Delphic sanctuary), — had he then withdrawn and made no further attempts against the rights of other states, there might have been some reason for censuring those who opposed him (i. e. us) ; since however he, on the contrary, used this victory over the Phocians as a means of further conquest, and gradually deprived all the states of their freedom, my solicitude and opposition are most fully justified, and you have done right and best in following my counsel. Thus by the concession in the early part of the sentence, Dem. strengthens his subsequent statement. — οἰς = τούτοις ἀ : cf. H. 996 a ; G. 1081, 1082 ; Cu. § 597. 4. — πολιτείας, constitutions ; of a democratic form of government, in distinction from a *τυραννίς*. — διστῶν : in the same constr. as ἀπάντων above.

§ 66. ἐκεῖστι, illuc, to be referred to νῦν at the beginning of § 64. — τὸν Ἀθήνηστι : several Edit. read ἐμέ after these words, though not found in Σ. Reuter calls attention to the fact that καὶ γάρ...διαφέρει can only refer to Ἀθήνησι. That Dem. alludes here to himself is plain enough from the connection and from the use of the 1st pers. in συνήδειν, ἀνέβην, ἐώρων. — ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου : the use of ἐκ w. genit. expresses the existence of this consciousness all the time through *from the first moment* of his observation. So ἀφ' ἣς, st. ἐφ' ἣ, indicates the whole period extending fr. the time at wh. he began to address the Assembly. This is a favorite mode of expressing



time w. Dem. Cf. ἐκ πολλοῦ, § 43. — *πρωτεῖν, precedence, primacy*; referring to the hegemony. For the singular cf. § 321. — *φιλοτιμίας, distinction, pre-eminence*. — *ἴκαστοι*: Dem. frequently compliments the Athenians for their readiness to sacrifice in behalf of the freedom and welfare of the other Greek states.

§ 67. *τὸν δόθαλμὸν ἔκκεκομμένον*: as similar instances of accus. of synecdoche, Holmes cites Aristoph. *Nub.*, 24: *εἰδὲ τὴν ἐξεκάπην πρότερον τὸν δόθαλμὸν λιθῷ*; *Aesch. c. Tim.*, § 172: *ἔκκοπεις ὁ δειλαῖος ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς δόθαλμούς*. This wound Philip probably incurred at the siege of Methone, 353 B. C. Cf. Diod., XVI. 34. — *τὴν κλεῖν*: this happened, acc. to the Schol., on the expedition against the Illyrians, 345 B. C. — *τὴν χείρα, τὸ σκέλος*: these injuries were sustained on his return from a Scythian campaign, the last one in an encounter w. the Triballi, 339 B. C. Justin, IV. 3, says: *in femore vulneratus est Philippus*. This enumeration of Philip's injuries seems to be given in chronological order; but Diss. observes: “*suaviter a capite ad inferiora descendit*.” — *βουληθεῖν*: why the optat. ? Cf. G M T. 532; H. 914 B; G. 1431; Cu. § 555. — *μέρος, every part of his body, whatever fortune, etc.* The antecedent is incorporated in the relat. clause, by wh., as Diss. observes, the emphasis of *πᾶν* is increased. Cf. H. 995; G. 1037; Cu. § 597. 3. — *τῷ λοιπῷ, reliquo corpore*.

§ 68. *οὐδὲ* points to what precedes; as that cannot be denied, so would no one even venture, etc. — *Πέλλῃ*: the allusion to Philip's birthplace as contrasted w. Athens is manifestly contemptuous. — *τοῦτ'*, sc. ή τῶν 'Ελ. ἀρχή. — *ἐν πᾶσι ... θεωρήμασι*: *in speeches and spectacles*, Lord B.; *in speeches and in dramas*, Kenn.; better, w. Leland, *in everything you hear and see*. — *ὑπόμνημα θεωρούσι*, *contemplate a memorial*; *ὑπόμνημα* used in a concrete sense as referring to the greatness and splendor of their city. All other Editt. read here *ὑπομνήμαθ' δρῶσι*. Our reading is that of Σ and two other MSS., though on the margin of Σ the other reading is also found; *θεωρεῖν* is used in the same sense in Dem. *pro Rhod. Lib.*, § 35. — *ἴθελοντας* seems tautological. Some critics regard it as a gloss to explain the word before it. The idea is intensified by its use. Cf. § 305: *μετὰ πάσης ἀδελας ἀσφαλῶς*; Dem. *Olynth.*, III., § 6: *πάντι σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν*; *Phil.*, II., § 16: *βιασθεὶς ἀκὼν*.

§ 69. *λοιπὸν τούννυ τὴν*, *it remained therefore*; as the only course left to be pursued. Notice the strong inferential force of *τούννυ*, wh. at the same time adds to the considerations already advanced a new motive in the antithesis of *δικαῖος* and *ἀδικῶν*. — *ἔγραφον...καὶ ἦγὼ, and I also acted as the mover of your resolutions and as your counsellor*; *καὶ* before *ἦγὼ* indicates that Dem. claims that he was only in line with the traditional policy of the city. Cf. *καὶ* before *διεκώλθη*, § 60. — *καθ'...χρόνους*: give the Greek without incorporation of the antecedent. — *πάντα, dismissing*

all the rest. These earlier conquests Philip made in 358–345 B. C. Cf. note § 60.

§ 70. **Σέρριον**: cf. § 27. — **Δορίσκον**: cf. *Aesch. c. Ctes.*, § 82. These Thracian towns were taken in 345 B. C. — **Πεπαρήθουν**: this island was laid waste by Philip, about 342 B. C., for ejecting the Macedonian garrison from the neighboring island of Halonnesus, for the possession of which Philip and the Athenians were contending. Cf. *Aesch. c. Ctes.*, § 83. — **οὐδὲ...** **οὖτα**: “Sic me geram quasi omnino nesciam facts.” Diss. — **σύ γ'**, you, made emphatic by *γε* wh. generally throws its emphasis upon the preceding word; *and yet you affirmed* (though cognizant of all these facts) *that I in speaking of these matters had brought these persons* (sc. his auditors) *into hostility* (with Philip namely). — **Εύβοιόντων**: cf. note § 21. — **Ἀριστοφάντος**: of the deme Azenia, one of the leading statesman of Athens fr. the close of the Pelopon. War down to about 352 B. C. The chief aim of his policy seems to have been to unite Athens and Thebes against Sparta; cf. § 162. Dem. in his *Leptin. Orat.*, § 146, calls him **δευτὸς λέγειν**. *Aesch. c. Ctes.*, § 194, refers to Arist. as boasting that he had been acquitted on seventy-five charges of *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. — **Διοπείθους**: most scholars follow the Scholiast in supposing this Diopeithes to be the Athenian general who in 343 B. C. saved the Chersonesus fr. falling into the hands of Philip. But A. Schaefer (I. 163, II. 422) believes this Diopeithes to be the orator and statesman who is mentioned by Hyperides, of the deme Sphettus. — **οὐδὲ**: as before I offered no resolutions w. reference to these matters, *I will now also not speak of them*.

§ 71. **Εὔβοιαν**: Philip sought to gain a foothold in Eubœa as early as 350 B. C., when he supported the tyrant Callias of Chalcis against the Athenians under Phocion, who had been summoned to give assistance by Plutarch, tyrant of Eretria. The peace of 346 for a while checked his operations; but in 343 he boldly invaded the island, destroyed Porthmus, a fortification of the Eretrians, and placed his tools in power in Oreus and Eretria, as mentioned in the text. Vid. farther § 79. — **σφετεριζόμενος**, *appropriating to himself*. — **ἐπιτεχισμα**, *as a post of attack, base of operations against*; cf. *ἐπιτειχισμὸν*, § 87. For this the position of Eubœa was admirably fitted. — **Μεγάροις**: in 343 B. C. a Macedonian faction, at the head of wh. stood Perilaus, endeavored to put Megara into the hands of Philip, so as to prepare the way for his conquest of the Peloponnesus; but this plan was frustrated through the prompt and energetic interference of the Athenians under Phocion. Cf. Dem. *Phil.*, III., §§ 18, 27; *de F. L.*, §§ 87, 204, 295, 326. — **Ἐλλήσποντον**: Philip occupied the Hellespont in 342 B. C., and sent out forces to conquer and destroy the towns of the Chersonesus. — **Βυγάντιον**: cf. note § 87. — **πόλεις...ἀς μὲν...ἀς δὲ**: cf. H. 624 d;

G. 914; Cu. § 361. 12. The use of *ἀς μὲν...ἀς δὲ στ. τὸς μὲν...τὸς δὲ*, Bremer remarks, is contrary to the best Attic usage of this period and an instance of a vulgarism employed by the best writers. Professor Lipsius cites as the only example of this use prior to Dem., *οὐς μὲν...οὖς δὲ* in Xen. *Cyrop.*, II. 4, § 23, where some Editt. read *τοὺς μὲν...τοὺς δὲ*. Cf. V. ad loc., who gives also *ῶν μὲν...ῶν δὲ* ap. Stob. *Serm.*, XVI, p. 153, Gesn. What cities the orator has in mind has not been ascertained. — **ἡδίκαια**: notice the *continuance* of the action expressed by the impf. in this and the following verbs. — **ἢ μή**: the negat. is to be joined w. *φανῆναι*; had *οὐ* been used, the question would have been less emphatic. The *οὐ* above is joined w. the preceding verbs in the indic. and expects an affirmative answer. Here the difference between *μή* and *οὐκ* may be expressed thus: **ἢ (ἐχρῆ) μή (φανῆναι)** = or ought he to have NOT shown himself, i. e. failed to show himself; **ἢ οὐκ (ἐχρῆ) (φανῆναι)** = or ought NOT he to have shown himself, i. e. was it not his duty to.

§ 72. **τὴν Μυσῶν λέλαν**: “*Mysian booty*” was proverbial for helplessness. The proverb arose from the story that during the absence of their king, Telephus, the Mysians became the unresisting prey of their neighbors. Arist. *Rhet.*, I. 12, and Cic. *pro Flacco*, § 27, quote it. — **ζῶντας καὶ ὄντας**, alive and in being. — **εἶναι** is sometimes used of an established political existence; so Dem. *Phil.*, III., § 56: *ὅτι δὴ η πόλις*; *de F. L.*, § 64: *οὐσιὰς τῆς Ἀθηναλώπολεως*. W. Dind. compares *Τιμοδήμῳ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ζῶντι καὶ εἰτι*, Dem. *pro Phorm.*, § 29. — **περιεργασμάτῳ**, I have overdone the matter, exceeded my duty. — **ἔδει**: *δεῖ* = it is wanting or needed, physical necessity; *χρή* = it is befitting or due, moral necessity; *προσήκει* = it is becoming or proper. — **τούτων** refers to *ταῦτα πάντα* in § 71. — **ταῦτα, κ. τ. ἐ**, this was my political course; sc. as implied in *τούτων κωλυτήρων* above. — **καὶ...διετέλοντο**, and I was continually forewarning and admonishing you not to surrender (sc. your leadership and your liberties to Philip). The preceding passage, commencing w. § 66, Lord B. regards among the finest in all Dem. He says: “The heavy fire of indignant invective is kept up throughout, only limited by the desire to avoid any too personal offence to an audience as vain as supine, and as impatient of censures as it was deserving of them. The rapidity of the declamation is striking in the highest degree; the number of topics crowded into a few words, in § 71 especially, and the absolute perfection of the choice, is not to be surpassed.” The force and breadth of the argument are no less admirable than the diction and style. It is stated from three points of view: (1) Looking at the condition of Greece, what did the honor of the city require Athens to do (§§ 62–65)? (2) Looking at the parties engaged in this struggle, was Athens to yield or to resist (§§ 66–68)? (3) Looking at the historical facts, ought any state to have surrendered if so, which one (§§ 69–72)?

II. §§ 73–78. PHILIP, NOT ATHENS, BROKE THE PEACE; OTHER STATESMEN, NOT DEM., PROPOSED WAR. τὰ πλοῖα: reference is made to the seizure and plundering of Athenian merchantmen by Macedonian privateers, let loose by Philip about 340 B. C. This and the devastation of the Chersonesus were among the causes wh. finally determined the Athenians to a formal declaration of war.—ψηφισμάτα: the decrees that follow are very unsatisfactory, not only failing to give us the promised answer to the question τίς τίνος αλτίος ἔστι, but also wanting in clearness on the affair of the seizure of the boats.¹

§ 75. τὸ δ' ἐφεῆς: what decrees Dem. refers to is not quite clear; probably, however, the same as those alluded to in § 70 (*τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων*), and bearing upon events prior to the peace of Philocrates. The point that Dem. aims to make in citing these names is, to show that as he was not the one who proposed the peace in the first place (cf. § 21), so he was also not the one who proposed its dissolution.—Ἡγήσιππος is the only name that has not already been mentioned. He was a zealous adherent of the popular party. He had proposed the alliance with the Phocians and opposed the peace with Philip. The *seventh* in the order of the Demosthenic orations, *On the Halonnesus*, is now generally attributed to Hegesippus.—πάντες, i. e. πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι, as some MSS. have it.

§ 76. τοῦ πολέμου refers to the resumption of hostilities w. Philip in 340 B. C.—Δν ἔχοις: what would be the form of the condition if expressed?—εἰ...εἴχεις...δν...παρέχου: cf. G M T. 410; H. 895; G. 1397; Cu. §§ 537, 538, 539. Notice the shade of difference in the use of the tenses.—ὑπὲρ: cf. note § 9.

III. §§ 79–101. DEM. JUSTIFIES HIS FOREIGN ADMINISTRATION. ἔνταῦθ', i. e. in the letter just read. Notice again the orator's happy transition from one topic to another: that Philip does not blame him is an indirect witness to his services to the state, wh. he proceeds to enumerate.—τι ποτέ: the indef. ποτέ adds to the inquiry a certain tone of surprise or astonishment; somewhat like our, *why in the world?*—γεγράφει: the MSS. reading is γέγραφε or γέγραφεν, wh. gives an anomaly of wh. we cannot suppose the orator guilty. Bekk. reads ἔγραφεν, V. and W., after Droysen's emendation, γ' ἔγραφεν, Dind. has ἔγεγράφει. The omission of the augment, as in our text, in the plupf., is not uncommon when a long vowel or diphthong immediately precedes: cf. εῦ πεπόνθεσαν § 213; πολλαὶ πεπτώκεσσαν, Thuc. I. 89; ήδη τετελευτήκει, Xen. *Anab.*, VI. 4. 11. With

¹ Since the remaining documents are generally even more unsatisfactory than those already examined, and as in many, if not most, of our American colleges these documents are wholly omitted in the study of the Oration, the editor has not thought it worth the while to make further annotations upon them.

our reading the sentence is : *he would have made mention if he had written* ; with the reading έγραφεν : *he would make mention* (έμεμητο used as an impf.) *if he were writing*, the speaker putting himself back to the time when Philip was writing his letter. — τούτων, sc. τῶν ἀδικημάτων. — εἰχόμην, *I fastened myself to*, as a determined foe. *On these I fixed myself*, Kenn.; *grappled with*, Wh. — τὴν...πρεσβείαν : Dem. was himself a member of this embassy, in 343 B. C. — παρεδόθετο, *was trying to steal into*. The Peloponnesus was divided into factions, wh. Philip was insidiously stirring up against one another for the purpose of gaining a foothold for himself. It was through this embassy that the Peloponn. states were aroused to their danger, and Philip was prevented from invading their territory until after Chæronea. — τὴν εἰς Εὐβοιαν : in the same year as the preceding. — τὴν...ξεδον : these expeditions came two years later (341); first Oreus was delivered and its despot, Philistides, slain; then Cleitarchus, despot of Eretria, was driven forth by Phocion.

§ 80. τὸν ἀποστόλους, *the naval expeditions*, alluding probably also to the improvements in the trierarchal law introduced by him, wh. are set forth in § 102 ff. Cf. πάντα τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γεγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν, § 107. — καθ' οὓς = almost δὲ ἄν, *per quas*. For similar use of κατά cf. Thuc. I. 60; II. 87. “This use of κατά is somewhat rare, but may be viewed, perhaps, as expressing the *accordance* between the instrument and the result, the cause and the effect, like the adv. *accordingly* in certain cases.” LARNED. — Χερσόνησος: one of Philip's most cherished purposes was to gain possession of the Chersonesus, wh. at this time was partly in the power of Cersobleptes, king of Thrace and an ally of the Athenians. At first Philip contents himself with subjugating C. and occupying the strongest points in Thrace (§ 27). But in 340 B. C. Philip interferes in the contest of the Athenians w. the inhabitants of Cardia, formerly an Athenian dependency; this leads to an open rupture and to a formal invasion of the Chersonesus on the part of Philip. Thence he turns to the Propontis to gain control of the straits that lead to the Euxine. But here his customary good fortune fails him; in vain he besieges Perinthus and Byzantium; the Athenian auxiliary force compels him to withdraw, and again the Chersonesus is free. — οἱ σύμμαχοι, sc. Tenedos, Proconnesus, etc. Cf. § 302. — τῶν ἀδικουμένων : gen. of the whole depending on τοῖς μὲν, τοῖς δ᾽. — ὑμῖν...πεισθεῖσιν, *to those who at that time followed your advice*. — τὸ μεριθόθαι, καὶ νομίζειν : subj. of περιεγένετο to be supplied.

§ 81. καὶ μὴν introduces a strong asseveration, = *and verily*. — Φιλιστίδης...Κλειταρχος: cf. note § 79. — ἵπαρχειν ἢ φ' ὑμᾶς, *that the possession of these places might be in his hands for your injury*. — ποιῶν ἤδηκα : the

addition of the partic. makes the expression emphatic. — πανταχοῦ = anywhere. Cf. note on πάντων, § 5.

§ 82. κατέλινον, used to lodge. “This very technical use of καταλίνειν is easily traced: the verb signifies (1) to unloose (sc. the sandals), (2) to rest, (3) to lodge; παρ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ Γοργὸς καταλίνει, Plat. Gorg., 447 B. The expression is common in Plato, but rare in the orators, who employ the word more commonly of dissolution, destruction, or termination. HOLMES. — πρόξενος, you were their public host. It was customary for envoys to be entertained by the πρόξενος of their city. The πρόξενος was a person appointed by the state to protect the interests of his fellow-citizens resident in foreign lands, quite analogous to our consul. Aesch. was not properly the πρόξενος of Eubcea, but acted as such. — ἔχθρον: notice the antithetic position of this word and φίλοι, and the emphasis on σοι. — οὐ τούνν... οὐδέν: however great the personal advantages I might have gained from selling my services to Philip and his partisans, I steadfastly opposed all their designs; and yet, notwithstanding this, you reproach me. — παύσα: Attic for παύση. — ἀτυμώσαντες, by disabling you, in a legal sense. If the prosecutor failed to obtain one-fifth of the votes he fell into ἀτυμά: i. e. besides incurring a fine of 1000 drachmæ, he was forever disabled from instituting a similar suit. Cf. Boeckh *Pub. Econ. Athen.*, p. 492 ff; Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 734.

§ 83. ἐπὶ τούτου, i. e. for the successful resistance Dem. offered to the schemes of Cleitarchus and Philistides. — γράψαντος: the gen. absol. seems to denote both time and concession here: although and when. — τούτου γρυνομένου: all attempts to explain the reference of these words seem unsatisfactory. (1) To make τούτου refer to the decree of Aristonicus as second in order is hardly possible, since nothing is said anywhere of any similar decree prior to this one, and because this interpretation would require γενομένου. (2) If τούτου refers to the decree of Ctesiphon, we meet with the following difficulties: (a) The word κηρύγματος cannot properly be used of the proposal of Ctes., wh. was as yet hardly a ψήψιμα. The κηρυγμα was the very thing Aesch. sought to prevent by his παραβόλων γραφῆ. (b) How can the aorists ἀντεῖπεν, ἐγράψατο be joined to this present idea? We must then read: and whereas the present is now the second proclamation in the theatre WHICH IS COMING OFF in my honor, Aeschines, although present, neither SPOKE in opposition, etc. But “spoke” when? (c) By referring to § 223, it will be seen that the proposal of Ctes. was third in order, counting that of Demomeles and Hyperides as a single one. I can find no ground for Holmes's assumption that the crowns proposed by Aristonicus and by Ctesiphon were the only ones proclaimed in the theatre, and therefore this was second to that; against this supposition is the statement in

§ 223 in regard to the proposal of D. and H.: *τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ ταῦτά βήματ' ἔχει, ἀπερ πρότερον Ἀριστόνικος, νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὔτοις.* (3) As the text stands (we believe it is corrupt for the additional reason that the art. *τὸ* is necessary, since we cannot say *τοῦτο μοι γίγνεται δεύτερον κήρυγμα*, but only *τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα γίγνεται μοι δεύτερον*), the following explanation suggested by V. seems most natural. From a comparison w. §§ 222, 223 we conclude that Dem. had been crowned twice in the theatre before Ctes. made his proposal. (What Dem. says in § 120 refers in general to his coronations, most of wh. occurred in the ordinary localities, the Pnyx and the Senate-house). Now the first proclamation in the theatre was that of Aristonicus, and to this one *τούτον γιγνομένου* refers, but in this way: *δεύτερων γίγνεσθαι* = *iterari, to be repeated*; hence the entire sentence would read, *and when this proclamation* (sc. this one of Arist.) *was made a second time in my behalf*, which was done through Demom. and Hyper., whose proposal was couched in the very same terms, and was unsuccessfully attacked by Diondas. Decrees and other legal formulæ were often thus repeated in the same terms, the names of the parties concerned alone being changed. (4) W. suggests an excellent emendation, *τοιωτρου* for *τούτου*, *τοιούτου* referring to the similarity of the phraseology employed in the decree of Demom. and Hyper. With this change we read: *when therefore you crowned me at that time for these things...and the crown was proclaimed in the theatre, yea, even when such a proclamation was being made for me already now a second time, Aeschines, although present, neither spoke in opposition, nor indicted him who had proposed it.* The learner will observe that the partic. *γιγνομένου* has the time of the impf., to denote the continued existence of this proclamation, wh., unlike that of Aristonicus, was the occasion of a suit. That Aesch. did not object *the first time*, the orator lets pass by; but that he should have taken no notice of the *second similar proposal*, and still attack the proposal of Ctes., wh. is of the self-same import, this Dem. makes prominent in this much-disputed sentence, as we understand it.

§ 85. *συμβήσεσθαι...στεφανῶμαι*: for this form of cond. sent. cf. G M T. 444, 689. 2; H. 946, 898; G. 1403, 1522, 1497. 2; Cu. §§ 545, 548, last sentence. — *ἀς ἔτέρως* = otherwise, euphemistic for *κακῶς*. — *τότε*, sc. *θαυ ἡ νέα πράγματα*, emphatic.

§ 86. *οὐκοῦν*, accordingly; marking a conclusion. The *οὐκ* points to the preceding negative idea, *οὐ μέμψεως*, κ. τ. ἐ. What is the meaning of *οὐκοῦν*? — *μὲν* has no corresponding *δέ*, but the implied opposition to *τῶν χρόνων ἔκεινων* is obvious. — *πάντας*, sc. *τοὺς χρόνους*, wh. most MSS. include in the text. — *τῷ νικᾶν*, dat. instrum., *by the fact of my prevailing in speaking and proposing.* — *προσδόους*, *solemn processions*. Cf. *θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ*, § 216. — *ἀς...δυτινῶν*, *on the ground that*, etc.

87. τοινυν: often used to resume the narration, like our well, then. — τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, τῷ δὲ πολιτεῖᾳ, with arms indeed by you, but through statesmanship and decrees by me. The instrum. is denoted by the dat., the agent by ἵπο w. genit. The critical student will notice an inversion in the order of the words ἵψ' ὑμῶν τοῖς ὅπλοις × τῷ πολιτεῖᾳ ἵψ' ἐμοῦ; this is intentional and gives variety. From the form of the letter X the ancient rhetoricians called it *chiasmus*. — διαρραγῶστ, even though some of these should burst; i. e. *invidia vel indignatione*. Diss. Kenn. quotes Virg. *Eclog.*, VII. 26: *Invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro*. Tyler follows Wh. in taking it to mean, straining their lungs to contradict me. — ἔτερον, i. e. *alius generis*. Schaeff. — ἐπιτεχισμὸν: in § 71 we have ἐπιτεχισμα. Reiske and Schaeff. understand the allusion to be not to Byzantium, but to the control of the grain trade, wh. was to be to Philip *an instrument of aggression* different fr. the stronghold he had lost in Eubœa. — ἐπισάκτῳ: Boeckh *Publ. Econ. Athen.*, p. 111, calculates the amount of grain annually imported at one million medimni. The main supply came from the region bordering upon the Pontus. — παρελθὼν, *going along the coast*. — αἵτη: join w. συμπολεμεῖν. — ἐπὶ τούτοις, *upon these terms*. Dem. himself went on the embassy (cf. § 244) in 340 b. c. to persuade the Byzantines to resist Philip. He persuaded the Athenians to enter into an alliance w. Byzantium. When Philip saw not only the Athenians, but also the Chians, Rhodians, and Coans coming to the aid of Byzantium, he reluctantly withdrew. — χάρακα: by synecdoche for χαράκωμα = *a palisaded camp, a stockade*. — μηχανῆματ', *having planted enginery*.

§ 88. ἐπερωτήσα: ἐπερωτᾶν means to ask a question again or besides (ἐκτί), as something superfluous. — τὸ ὑμεῖς, the word "you." Cf. H. 600 a; G. 955. 2; Cu. § 379. — τὴν πόλιν λέγω: this the orator adds in order to be able to say τὴν πόλει στ. δῆμον in the next sentence, and thus to avoid the appearance of making himself out to be the leader and guide of his judges. — ἄπλως, *in a word, altogether*; it modifies the whole sentence. — δοὺς: so reads also Bekk., after the best MSS.; all other Editt. read διδούς, wh. denotes the time of the impf., the same as γράφων, πράττων. Reuter defends δοὺς as expressing in the way of a climax both a preterite and a perfect idea; i. e. *who gave and has given*; he also thinks the monosyllable forcible at the close of the period. V., on the contrary, objects that the ears of Dem. would never tolerate the two successive syllables δῶς δούς. Dionys. Hal. cites the close succession of the four long syllables in ἀφειδῶς δοὺς ἔγώ as an instance of Dem. severity of style.

§ 89. δ...ἐνστὰς πόλεμος, i. e. the war between Philip and the Athenians, after the peace of 346 b. c. had been annulled. — ἀνεψι = χωρις, *apart from, besides*. — ἐν ταῖσι τοῖς...βλον, *in all the necessities of life*. — τῆς νῦν εἰρή-

νῆσ, i. e. the peace after Chæronea, procured by Demades. — **ἡν...τηροῦσιν**: Dem. calls to mind the refusal of the Athenians, under the influence of the Macedonian party, to support the Peloponnesians in their revolt against Alexander. — **οἱ χρηστοί**: cf. note § 30. — **ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐπιστών**: the idea would be more logically expressed by **ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν μελλόντων ἐπιστώσιν**, since the *hopes* are themselves *present*; but the orator chose this form of expression to correspond to **τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης**. — **διαμάρτυρεν**: what use of the optat. here and in the following verbs? Cf. G M T. 721, 722; H. 870; G. 1507, 1510; Cu. § 514. — **αὐτοί = τούτων δ**: H. 996 a; G. 1031, 1032; Cu. § 598. 2. For the accus. **δ** cf. H. 724; G. 1069; Cu. § 402. — **μή μεταδοῖεν**: the asyndeton gives emphasis. **μεταδοῖειν = to give a share of, to impart**; **μετασχεῖν = to receive a share of, to share in**. Most Editt. read **καὶ μή μεταδοχεῖν**, **κ. τ. δ.**, wh., to say the least, makes the sentiment a harsh one. The omission of **μή** with Σ and Laur. S. gives a much nobler turn to the sentence. The orator utters then the prayer that these treacherous men may fail of realizing their hopes (wh. involve the destruction of their common country), and may enjoy freedom and independence in company w. those who seek to secure their country's highest good; and, on the other hand, that they may not impart to the commonwealth that ruin of public good wh. they have aimed at as a means to promote their own private interests. The thought underlying the whole passage is that the welfare of the state involves the welfare of the individual, and vice versa. Cf. Thuc., II. 60. 2; Soph. *Antig.*, 188–190; Plato *Legg.*, p. 875, A.

§ 93. **ἡ προαίρεσις, κ. τ. δ**, *my policy and administration* = *the policy of my administration*; an instance of *hendiadys*. Diss. remarks that this is a favorite expression w. Dem. Cf. §§ 192, 292, 317. Notice the rhetorical order wh. makes the object of the sentence more prominent. — **καλοκαγάθιαν**: this word may be translated *honorableness, spirit of honor, generosity; Edelmuth* (Jacobs). The mental characteristics of the **καλὸς κἀγαθός** were *honor, courage, magnanimity. Magnanimity*, perhaps, best renders the word here, as contrasted with **κακίαν** = *meanness*.

§ 94. **μεμψάμενοι...δν = ἐμέμψασθε δν**: cf. G M T. 215; H. 987; G. 1308. 2; Cu. § 595. 2. — **ἐν...χρόνοις**, sc. when Byzantium joined Chios, Rhodes, etc., in the so-called Social War against Athens, 357–355 B. C. — **ἀδικουμένους**: how does **ἀδικεῖν** differ fr. **ἀδικεῖσθαι** in meaning? — **σύμβουλον...ρήτορα**: though *generals* had often gained that honor for the state, he was the first one who was merely a *statesman* to achieve this.

§§ 95–101. DEMOSTHENES CITES EXAMPLES FROM ATHENIAN HISTORY IN JUSTIFICATION OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY. **βλασφημία...συκοφαντία** = *defamations* (*βλάπτω, φημί*), *malicious slanders* (*σύκορ, φάινω*,

from the false accusations often brought for robbing the sacred fig-trees. Cf. note on *συκοφάντης*, § 112). — *τῶν Βυζαντίων*: Aesch. nowhere in his speech attacks the Byzantines; we must suppose this to be an interpolation, or, what is more probable, that Aesch. omitted this mention of the Byzantines fr. the revised edition of his oration, wh. he made in Rhodes, out of regard for the Rhodians who were the allies of the Byzantines. Cf. A. Schaef., III., Beilage III., p. 77. Cf. Introduction. — *εἴ τι, st. δὲ τι, in case that, etc.* — *οὖσας*: G M T. 878, 904; H. 981, 929; G. 1579, 1588; Cu. § 593. — *διάρχειν...εἰδότας*: emphatic st. simply *εἰδέναι*, lit. *you exist knowing*. Cf. § 228: *διάρχειν ἐγνωμένους*. The partic. is used as a predicate adj.; cf. G M T. 830. — *τῷ...συμβέβηκεν, but also from the fact that it was to your advantage so to conduct affairs as I have conducted them*. — *καθ' ὥρας, in your day*. Not to be taken too literally, as the battle of Halinartus, mentioned below, occurred in 395 B. C. — *τῇ πόλει*: dat. agent w. *πεπραγμένων*. — *καλ...καλ...πράττειν, for it is proper both that a man in private and that a state in public should always endeavor to shape the future with respect to the most illustrious precedents of the past*.

§ 96. *ἄρμοσταις*: these were the notoriously unpopular governors placed by the Spartans, during their supremacy, over their dependencies. The state of things described here is recognized as existing immediately after the close of the Peloponn. War. For explanation of these historical allusions let the student refer to Grote's, Thirlwall's, or Smith's History, and to Thuc., IV. 66, 74; VIII. 95; Xen. *Hellen.*, II. 2. 3; Plut. *Lysand.*, cap. 13, 14. — *ἄλλας νήσους*, other islands, i. e. besides Euboea and Aegina, as Lesbos, Samos, Melos. Cf. Xen. *Hellen.*, II. 2. 5; 3. 6. It would seem more natural to have *Ἄγιαν* come just before *ἄλλας νήσους*. Many Editt. read *τὰς* *ἄλλας νήσους*, wh. is interpreted either as an instance of the pleonastic use of *οἱ* *ἄλλοι* = *the rest*, sc. *islands* (but against this is the mention of Aegina and Euboea already made), or as meaning *all the remaining islands* (but the Lacedemonians did not obtain control of nearly all). W. accepts Dobraeus's emendation, *Kέω τὰς* for *Κλεωρὰς*, and objects to Cleonæ as not being, like the rest, in *the circle about Attica*. — *ναῦς...τείχη*: the Athenian navy was limited to 12 ships, and the long walls were razed to the ground. — *Κόρινθον*: the Athenians joined an alliance of the Thebans, Corinthians, and Argives against Sparta. The allied forces were defeated in a battle fought near Corinth, 394 B. C., wh. circumstance gave the name Corinthian to a feeble war that lasted eight years and was terminated by the peace of Antalcidas. — *ἀν ἔχοντων = ἀν εἶχον*, might have borne many grudges. Cf. § 258, where *ἀν ἔχων = ἀν εἶχομι*: cf. G M T. 214; H. 987; G. 1308. 2. — *τῶν πραχθέντων*, for the things that were done; genit. cause. — *τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον*: the last part of the Peloponn. War was thus named from

the occupation of *Decelea* by the Lacedaemonians, in 413 B. C., as a base of operations against Athens. Diss. calls attention to the admirable structure of this period: the participles at the beginning (*ἀρχόντων, κατεχόντων*) describe the threatening situation (*οὗτ' δικίδυνα*), that at the end (*έχοντων*) gives the reason why the Athenians might have held aloof (*οὗτοί ὑπέρ εὐεργετῶν*); while in the middle comes the principal sentence (*ἔξηλθετε*), wh. is thereby rendered less emphatic.

§ 97. *πέρας...τηρῆ*: this passage has been much lauded by the ancient critics. Lucian in his *Encom. de Demosth.* compares it with *Iliad*, XIII. 322–328.—*κανὲν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ*, even though one should shut himself up in a cage and keep watch. Harpocr. makes *οἰκίσκῳ* = *μικρῷ τωι οἰκήματι*. Didymus in Harpocr. renders it *δρυιθοροφεῖψι*, wh. may be the origin of the ludicrous interpretation of the Scholiast: “Man must die anyhow, even though he change his manner of life, and, fancying himself to be a bird, shut himself up in a bird-cage.” — *τοὺς ἀγαθὸύς...τὴν ἀγαθὴν*, men that are good, the hope that is good; generic use of the article.—*προβαλλομένους*, casting before themselves, as a shield; cf. § 301. Professor Tyler calls attention to the same figure in *Ephesians*, vi. 16.

§ 98. *προσβύτεροι*: the events referred to occurred some 40 years before the delivery of this speech.—*ἐπαδή*: the unusual order of this sentence is occasioned by the emphatic position given to *Λακεδαιμονίους*.—*Δεύτεροι*: cf. note § 18.—*διεκαλύσατε*: in 369 B. C. the Thebans invaded Lacedaemon and threatened the destruction of Sparta, but were hindered by an Athenian force sent out under Iphicrates, and finally compelled to retire from Laconia.—*οὐδὲ...διαλογισάμενοι*, nor taking into account what those men had done for whom you were about to incur danger.

§ 99. *καὶ γάρ*: *καὶ* is used elliptically; *and* you did so, i. e. take no account of, etc. *γάρ* is epexegetical, introducing the fuller statement of *διαλογισάμενοι*.—*τούτους* refers back to *διοῖν* used in a collective sense, and is genit. cause w. *δρυῆν*.—*τελολογισθεῖ* has for its original meaning *reckon in the account*.—*ἄν* = *τούτων δι*: cf. note § 89.—*Εὔβοιαν*: in 357 B. C. Eubaea was divided into two factions, one of wh. had called in the aid of the Thebans for overthrowing democratic institutions. By the aid of the Athenians the Thebans were driven out, and the old regime was re-established. Cf. *Aesch.*, § 85; *Diod.*, XVI. 7.—*Ὀροπόδην*: Oropus, situated on the border between Attica and Boeotia, had long been a bone of contention between these two states. In 366 B. C. Themison and Theodorus, the despots of Eretria, w. aid of the Thebans seized the place, wh. then belonged to Athens. The question of right of control came before a court of arbitration, and was decided in favor of Athens. But the Thebans declined to give up Oropus. Hence arose the famous *δίκη περὶ Ὀροποῦ*; cf.

Diod., XV. 76; Xen. *Hellen.*, VII. 4. 1. After Chaeronea the possession of Oropus was guaranteed the Athenians by Philip. — θελοντῶν...τριπαρχῶν, voluntary triarchs, in addition to the regularly appointed triarchs, who did not suffice for that year. On the office of the triarchy vid. Dict. Antiq. and note § 102. — οὕτω, sc. εἰπεῖν μέλλω.

§ 100. *καὶ* modifies the weaker idea of *τὸ σῶσαι* in contrast w. the stronger *τὸ ἀποδοῦναι*. “Merely” expresses it very well. — τὴν νήσον, i. e. Eubœa. — τὸ...ἀποδοῦναι, in that when you had become established as masters of their persons and their cities you restored these rightfully to those who had themselves done you injury. — καταστάντες: government! Cf. H. 940; G. 927; Cu. § 570. — ἀπολογισάμενοι is preceded in all the MSS. except in Σ, L, A², by *ἐν* oīs ἐπιστεύητε, wh. is probably a gloss from the corresponding passage in *Esch.*, § 85. — τῆς...θευθέλας καὶ σωτηρίας: most MSS. and Editt. place ἔνεκα either after or before Ἐλλήνων. ἔνεκα is, however, not essential. The constr. *στρατελας ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἀλευθερίας* is closely related to the constr. *τοῦ Φωκέας ἀπολέσαι* expressing purpose or object, and has underlying it the idea of price or value. Cf. *de F. L.*, § 76: πάσας ἀπάτη καὶ τέχνη συνεσκευάσθη τοῦ περὶ Φωκέας δλέθρου. Learned remarks upon the periodic form of the whole statement concerning the foreign administration of the orator as follows: “He first speaks of what the honor of Athens required, §§ 62 - 72; he next sets forth his own actions as being in accordance with the demands of that honor, §§ 73 - 94; he concludes w. what Athens had done in time past honorable to herself, §§ 95 - 100; thus uniting the whole topic in the one point of the honor of Athens.”

101. *εἰτ'*: of succession of thought. — ὥπερ αὐτῆς, κ. τ. ἡ, when the deliberation was in a certain sense in behalf of herself; in the cases cited it was in behalf of others. — νῇ Δίᾳ, yea verily; the ironical force is manifest. Cf. § 117. — οὐκ ἀν διέκεινά...εἰ...ἐπεχειρησα: cf. G M T. 410; H. 895; G. 1397; Cu. § 537. Some of the best MSS. have ἀν w. ἐπεχειρησα. How would this modify the clause? Cf. G M T. 245, 506; G. 1338, 1421. 3. — λόγῳ μόνον, to tarnish by word only; for it could be tarnished in no other way. λόγῳ is in contrast w. ἔργον, and means simply by counselling. — εἰ τιβούλεοθε...ἥν: how does this cond. sent. differ fr. that noticed last?

IV. §§ 102 - 109. DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION. τούτον ἔψη, next in order to these just mentioned. — πάλιν αὖ, once again. — καταλύμενον, in a state of dissolution. — ἀτελεῖς, exempted; cf. ἀτελῆς τῶν ὅλων λειτουργῶν, Dem. c. *Mid.*, § 155. — ἀπὸ, by the payment of. Diss. cites ἀπὸ σμικροῦ, Aristoph. *Plut.*, 377. There were four forms of the triarchy. In its original form every wealthy citizen was required to furnish the state one trireme. Throughout this earliest period, this duty was an object of ambition to the wealthiest citizens. Later, when the citizens were reduced in wealth, prob-

ably soon after the disastrous Sicilian expedition in 412 B. C., two were permitted to unite in a syntrierarchy. The system became gradually more inefficient, and in 357 B. C. came the third form. A law was enacted acc. to wh. the 1200 wealthiest citizens (120 fr. each tribe) were required to furnish and maintain the navy. These *contributors* (*συντελεῖς*), as they were called, were divided into 20 classes of 60 each, called *συμμορίαι*, and these classes were subdivided into companies of 15 each, and each company (*συντέλεια*) had the charge of one trireme. (In § 104 it is stated that 16 were found in each company; Bœckh supposes the 16th to be a kind of overseer or chief of the company.) But, in order to make the system more efficient, there was formed a smaller board, composed of the 300 richest men selected from the 1200. These were called the *ήγεμόνες* or *ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν*, and constituted a general committee of administration. They advanced money, let out the contracts, made the purchases, etc., and levied the tax equally upon all their copartners. By this system every contributor paid exactly the same amount of tax irrespective of the amount of his income. It is easily seen how the rich, by shrewd management in letting out the contracts and apportioning the tax, might exempt themselves from any payment, and how inefficient a navy thus provided must become. The reform in the trierarchal law was proposed by Dem. as *ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ* in 340 B. C., and consisted in assessing every citizen according to his wealth. One trireme was to be furnished by every 50 talents of property value, or by every 10 talents rated, the rate being one fifth of the whole. The maximum that could be claimed from any one was three triremes and a tender. Cf. Bœckh. *Publ. Econ. Athen.*, Book IV. — *ἀπολλύοντας*: so reads Σ; V. follows. All the other MSS. and Editt. (so far as I know) insert *τὰ δυτα* before this partic. as its object. V. makes the partic. agree w. *τοὺς τλουστοὺς* and govern *τοὺς...κεκτημένους*, and translates: *et cives mediocres aut tenues perdere*. This form of expression receives support from the similar statement in § 104: *τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῷν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν*. — *Ἐτ* = *præterea*. — *τῶν καιρῶν*, *missing its opportunities*, for want of promptness.

§ 103. *ἄγωνa*: Holmes joins this word first w. *γραφεῖς* as a cognate accus. after passive const., and then again w. *εἰσῆλθον*. But most Editt. regard *γραφεῖς* as used absolutely. The entire expression is best rendered: *and having been indicted I entered upon a trial of this kind* (i. e. the same kind of trial as that wh. Ctesiphon is now undergoing, sc. *γραφὴ παρανόμων*) *before you and was acquitted*. Cf. *εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν*, § 105. “*Dicitur, ut constat, εἰσέρχεσθαι, εἰσέναι et de reo et de actore aut accusatore.*” Diss. — *τὸ μέρος*, sc. *πέμπτον*. The ordinal adj. is omitted, as here, in §§ 222, 250; but it is expressed in § 266. Cf. note on *ἀπιώσαν-*

τοις, § 82. — τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους, *the second and third ranks*, after the ἡγεμόνες τῶν συμμοριῶν in the order of the valuation of their property. — διδόναι, attempted to give, i. e. offered: an impf. de conatu. So ἔδιδοσα, § 104. — εἰ δὲ μή, but if not, i. e. but if I should not μὴ θεῖαι; we can best translate it, but otherwise, as it expresses the alternative to ὅπερ μὴ θεῖαι. Cf. G M T. 478; H. 906; G. 1417. — ἕκας ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ: acc. to Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 285, the ὑπωμοσία was a declaration under oath that one had the purpose to bring a γραφὴ παρανόμων against a decree or measure before the assembly for deliberation. The effect of this declaration was either to prevent the final vote by wh. a bill became a νόμος, or, in case the bill was already passed, to stay its operation until the complaint παρανόμων had been tried and decided in the proper court. In the midst of this process the author of a bill could drop it and leave it under affidavit or protest. — καταβάλλοντα: the more usual reading is καταβαλόντα, wh. is transl. by Kenn., having entered it in the public register (i. e. ἐν τῷ Μητράφῳ, where the public archives were kept). With this agree Bremi, Reiske, Holmes, et al. But this rendering is impossible w. our reading (pres. partic.), and one cannot let a bill go by default before it has been recorded. The transl., dropping it to leave it under protest, seems most in harmony w. the context. This view is preferred by Wh., Diss., W., V., et al.

§ 104. ἦν = ἐξῆν. — αὐτοῖς μὲν...ἀναλογούοις...ἐπιτρίβουσιν: in appos. w. αὐτοῖς dependent on ἦν. ἐπιτρίβειν is similar to our English, to grind the faces of the poor. — μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν: our Engl. idiom has a disjunctive particle, little OR nothing. — τὸ γιγνόμενον, the amount resulting by rate according to their property. — τιθέναι depends gramm. on ἦν, but logically on the idea of συνέβη contained in ἦν. — δυοῖν, sc. τριηρᾶν. This contribution would come from one who possessed property to the value of 100 talents, or 20 talents of ratable value. — τῆς μιᾶς, of the single one, that would have to be furnished in compliance with the old law. — δὴ, as I have said, viz. in § 103. — διδόσαν, cf. διδόναι, § 103.

§ 107. δοκῶ: the personal st. impers. const., as often; the 3d plur. to be supplied w. οἱ πλούσιοι. — ἀν...ἔθελαι = ἀν ἔθελοιν. Cf. G M T. 204, 205; H. 964; G. 1308. 2; Cn. § 575. 1. — τοῦ...ποιεῖν: gen. price, expressing purpose: for the sake of doing, to do. Notice how the order of the words gives emphasis to the contrast in μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι...μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι. — καθυ-φείναι: composition? Transl., to compromise, Kenn.; lit. to let slip in an underhand manner. — τῷ...σεμνόνοματ, pride myself upon or because of, w. dat. of cause; but the verb is more commonly followed by ἐπι-. — τῷ περιστρέψαντες δεδωκέναι, and upon the fact that it (sc. τὸν νόμον) has given proof of itself by actual experience. Cf. a similar expression in § 195. —

πάντα...πόλεμον: this refers, acc. to Grote, Cap. XC., to the entire period of hostility fr. the renewal of the war in August, 340 b. c., to the battle of Chæronea in August, 338 b. c. — **ἰκετηριαν**: the suppliant was wont to place a wreath or twig, usually of olive, wound about with woollen bands, upon the altar of the deity whose favor was sought. The Scholiast informs us that there was an altar to Artemis in Munychia, to wh. seamen and trierarchs used to repair to offer their supplications and make known their grievances. — **τὰς ἀποστολέων**, *the naval board*, wh. had ten members, whose duty it was to superintend the affairs of the **ἀπόστολοι**. — **ἴδειν** implies that they had the power of imprisonment. — **καταλειφθεῖσα**, *abandoned*, because of its slowness or unseaworthiness; **ἀπελείφθη** = *left behind in port*. — **ἄντοῦ**, *here*, i. e. in the harbor of Peiræus, as opposed to **ἔξω** = *outside, at sea*.

§ 108. **ἐγίγνετο**, *were habitually occurring*. — **τὸ δ' αἰτιον**, lit. *and as regards the cause*; in apposition w. the following sentence; similar are **σημεῖον δὲ**, **τεκμήριον δέ**. Cf. Dem. *de Cherson.*, § 32. — **ἐν...ἡν**, *lay upon*. — **τὰ ἀδύνατα**, *cases of inability*, to furnish the required quota. — **πάντ' ...ἐγίγνετο**, *accordingly all requirements were wont to be met*. — **δόξαι**, κ. τ. **έ.**: the plur. expresses repeated instances of the *renown*, etc. — **βάσκανον**, κ. τ. **έ.**: “*No sordid envy, no rancor, no malignity...and no meanness.*” Leland. For other instances of **βάσκανος**, a favorite word w. Dem., cf. §§ 119, 132, 242, 317.

§ 109. **ἐν...τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν** = *home or domestic affairs* as opposed to **ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς** = *foreign affairs*. — **ἀντὶ...συμφερόντων**, *in preference to the common interests of all the Greeks*.

(c) §§ 110–119. THE QUESTION OF ACCOUNTABILITY. **τοίνυν**, *now then*, to proceed. — **τὸ** belongs to the whole sentence introduced by **ώς**, and is subj. accus. of **δεδηλῶσθαι**. Transl., *the statement that*, etc. — **μοι**, dat. agent w. perf. pass. — **τὸ μέγιστά γε**, *the most important*, with emphasis (from **γε**) on *most*. The orator alludes to the last contest w. Philip, wh. ended w. Chæronea. — **ὑπολαμβάνων**, *supposing*. **ὑπολαμβάνειν** = *sub ponere*. — **ἀποδούνας**: why rather than **δοῦναι**? — **ὅμοιως**, *equally, all the same*, as though I had made mention of my remaining measures, in wh. case **μοι** below is dat. of int. w. **ὑπάρχειν**, *exists for me*. Cf. § 39. So Diss., Bremer, Wh., Jacobs, and most Edit. But some prefer to join **ὅμοιως** more directly w. **μοι**, in the sense of *equally with me*. Transl., *nevertheless the consciousness of these facts exists as my witness in each of your hearts*.

§ 111. **τὸν...λόγων** depends on **τοὺς πολλούς**, wh. is the obj. of both **μανθάνειν** and **συνειναι**. — **ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκών**, *sursum et deorsum permiscendo*, V.; *das Oberste und Unterste durch einander rührend*, Jacobs; Holmes paraphrases it, *in a bewildered medley*. — **παραγεγραμμένων νόμων**:

in a γραφὴ παρανόμων the prosecutor was obliged to publish in parallel columns the laws and the proposed measures that were attacked as contravening them. — διακεχείρικα : this verb is used especially of the administration of financial affairs.

§ 112. ἐπαγγελάμενος, *having offered of my own accord.* “δέδωκα in connection w. ἐπαγγελάμενος amounts to ἐπιδέδωκα. On the subj. of ἐπιδότεις (patriotic donations) cf. Smith's *Dict. Antiq.*” HOLMES. — τῶν ἀννέα ἀρχόντων : these are mentioned as being subject to the most rigid scrutiny for the discharge of their official duties. — φιλόδοτος, *munificent, generous.* φίλο in composition is active when it is the first, but passive when it is the second part of the compound ; e. g. φιλάνθρωπος = loving man, θεόφιλος = beloved of God. So φιλόδωρος = fond of giving. — τοὺς συκοφάντας, *and to bring him before the Pettifoggers and to appoint these to audit his donations.* The art. τοὺς is used to point out an analogy to εἰς τοὺς λογιστὰς as the regular commission or board for auditing accounts. The opprobrious term συκοφάντης was applied to a class of men who made it their business to play the spy upon their fellow-citizens, in order that by threatening an accusation they might extort “hush-money” from violators of law, or levy “black-mail” upon innocent persons. For the etymology of the term cf. note on συκοφαντίας, § 95. But L. and Sc. in the 6th Oxford Edit. prefer the following, wh. seems to point directly to the actual use of the word : “one who brings figs to light by shaking the tree ; hence one who makes rich men yield up their fruit by informations, and other vile arts.” The comic poets, particularly Aristoph. (cf. *Acharn.*, 818–828), hold this class of men up to contempt and ridicule. The term has been variously rendered : *pettifogger, partisan, slanderer, informer.* This and the following sections contain the δόψις λόγος of the orator, as Åsch. calls it. Its fallacy, however, is apparent. Dem. skilfully avoids the real issue. The question was not whether Dem. should first give account of his *donations*, but of his *administration* ; for such an account must first prove what he had thus far simply asserted, viz. that he had made *bona fide donations*, and not stolen fr. the state with one hand what with the other he had given as a pretended donation. To be sure, when this speech was delivered this point was fully proved ; the accounts of Dem. had long ago been audited and approved ; but at the time Åsch. made his complaint (some 7 years before) the charge of illegality on this score was technically just.

§ 113. τῷ θεωρικῷ : cf. note, § 55. — ἐπέδωκα, *I gave a donation of money.* ἐπιδόνται = lit. to give in addition to the amount due. The author of the *Lives of the Ten Orators* (Pseudo Plut., p. 846) places this donation at 10,000 drachmæ. — ἐπήνεσεν... ὑπεύθυνος : this is professedly quoted fr. the proposal of Ctes. The common reading inserts ἡ βουλῇ as

subj. of *ἔπιγνεσεν*, but Σ omits this most properly, as V. remarks, since *Æsch.* did not accuse the *Senate*, but *Ctes.* only. Observe that Dem. adroitly substitutes this verb (= *ἐπανεῖν ἔγραψε*) for *στεφανοῦν ἔγραψε*. — *οὐ περ τούτων, κ. τ. ἐ*: yes, but not (did he propose to land me) *on account of those things for which I was held responsible, but for what donations I made, O pettifogger!* — *τευχοτοίδες*: cf. note § 55. — *τάνηλωμένα*, *the money expended*; this was, acc. to *Æsch.* in the passage cited below, in addition to the 10 talents received fr. the state, the sum of 100 minæ fr. his own purse; but acc. to *Lives of the Ten Oratt.*, p. 851, this sum was 3 talents. — *ὅδι*: i. e. *Ctesiphon*. The demonstrative *τι* has the *deictic force = here present*. So *οὐροῦ* below.

§ 114. *ἡθεσι*, *in vestris quidem moribus*. Diss. “It was in their very natures not to require such a thing” (Larned), sc. as to give account of donations. Reiske, Schaeff., Dind., prefer the reading *ἡθεσιν* = *customs, practices*, as opposed to *νόμοις*. Cf. § 275; Isocr. *Panegyr.*, § 152: *ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς δαμένοντο*. — *Ναυσικλῆς* was leader of the forces sent to aid the Phocians in 352 b. c. Cf. Diod. XVI. 37. — *ὅτε*: some Editt. read *ἥτε*; but both the idea of time and of cause may be expressed by *ὅτε*, and, while *cause* is natural as corresponding to *ἔφ* oīs above, *time* seems required w. the change of tense in *ἔστεφανοῦτο*. — *Διότιμος*: in *Lives of the Ten Oratt.*, p. 844, he is called one of the leaders of the people, and in Arrian *Anab.*, I. 10. 4, he is named as one of the statesmen whose surrender Alexander demanded. — *Χαρίδημος*: a brave soldier, leader of a mercenary force, who rendered the Athenians great service in their Thracian expeditions. Dem., in his *Orat. c. Aristocr.*, §§ 151, 185, 188, speaks of his receiving a crown. — *ἔστεφανοῦτο*: why this change of tense? Drake supposes that the perfect (*ἔστεφάνωται, τετίμηται*) denotes that Nausicles and Neoptolemus were still living, the imperfect (*ἔστεφανοῦτο*) that Diotimus and Charidemus were dead. But this supposition seems true only in case of Neoptolemus; at least of the others it is not known whether they were alive or dead. V. suggests that the perf. represents the act as completed, the impf. as customary. — *Νεοπτόλεμος*: the rich man referred to in Dem. *c. Mid.*, § 215. He was probably present; hence *οὐροῦ*. — *ἴρων*, sc. *δημοσίων*. — *Ἀν ἀη...ε...ἴσοται...ὑφέξαι*: to make a regular cond. sent., what forms would be required in the conditional to correspond to the consequent clause? How would this change affect the sense? — *ὑφέξαι*, *shall subjoin accounts*, the prep. *ὑπό* denoting *under* or *below*; here in the sense of *at the foot* of his list of donations. The orator aims to show here that usage was on his side. The precedents he cites may have been exactly in point; but unless they were, his argument fails in so far as he does not prove, but simply assumes, that these men received their honors *before* they had rendered their account.

§ 115. *τούτοις* : dat. int. w. γεγενημένα : *the very decrees passed in honor of these men.*

§ 117. *οἰς* : supply *τούτων* as antecedent in the same constr. as *τῆς ἀρχῆς*. — *οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τύχα*, and therefore *I am not either*. The *οὐκ* in *οὐκοῦν* looks back to *οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος* just preceding, and implies an interrogatory, *am I not οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος?* — *ταῦτα γάρ...θήσου*, for *I presume I have the same rights w. reference to the same things as the rest of mankind.* The sarcasm of this truism need hardly be pointed out. — *ἔνθα*: the punctuation varies in diff. Editt., most placing a colon here and after *ἥρχον* and *ἥρξα*. But to put these statements as suppositions in the interrogatory form seems very suitable to the idea. *Have I given donations? (very well), for this I am praised, etc.* The same is true of §§ 198, 274. — *όνκις άντι* : the partc. is causal : *while or since I am not.* — *ἴσωκα = ἐπέδωκα*. “The simple verb may follow after the more complete form.” V. — *δένθωκα* : this was true at the time he said it, but not when the suit was first brought, 7 years before. — *νὴ Δλί', δλλά', yea, verily, but did I discharge my official duties in an unjust manner?* A more forcible form of introducing an objection than the more usual *δλλὰ νὴ Δλα*. — *εἴτα* gives a certain degree of surprise and indignation to the inquiry. — *εἰσηγον*, sc. *εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον*. W. understands this, not of leading into court to answer charges of unsatisfactory accounts, as Diss. seems to take it, but of the presentation of the accounts already audited and approved by the Logistae to the general court for confirmation ; at this time any citizen might bring in a complaint for malfeasance or fraud, in response to the customary invitation : *τις κατηγορεῖν βούλεται*; Cf. Meier and Schöm., p. 103. — *οὐ κατηγόρεις*: most Editt. punctuate, as this, with a mark of interrogation, but translate as if *τι* or *διά τι* = *why?* preceded. Voem. objects to this punctuation on the ground that thus we get the opposite sense (*did you not accuse me?* meaning *yes*) to what is intended. But this is not necessarily the sense. The statement receives a sarcastic force from the interrogative form : *you did not accuse me?* Doubtless, the orator's tone of voice more clearly indicated this sarcasm, as also in the preceding *νὴ Δλί'...ἥρξα*. Cf. Dem. *de F. L.*, § 25 : *εἴτα τέτρ' οὐκ ἔλεγες παναχρήμα ταῦτα οὐδὲ ἐδίδασκες ήμᾶς*;

§ 118. *δοτεφανῶσθαι* : to be understood of the *proposal* to crown. — *οἰς...τοῦ προβουλεύματος* : “*the construction is τούτοις γάρ τοῦ προβουλεύματος ή οὐκ ἔγράψατο, for by those parts of the preliminary resolution which he has not indicted it will be clearly proved that he is malicious in those which he does attack.*” Wh. To make the attack upon a part and not upon the whole of this transaction is a proof of malicious intent.

§ 119. *Φησιν ή βουλή* : the Senate had adopted the proposal of Ctes. Cf. note, § 9. — *παρανόμων γράψῃ*, *you indict as illegal.* *παραν.* is genit.

crime or charge. — **εὐχ ὁ τοιόντος**: the art. **ὁ** is used generically, to designate one of a class, *not such an one?* The orator is fond of winding up a division of his speech by some such sharp appeal as this. Cf. §§ 52, 101; de F. L., 66. In comparing the parallel argument of Aesch. we notice an anticipation of one point wh. Dem. does not touch upon, sc. that his office does not fall within the intent of the law of accountability, since it is not a regular magistracy (*ἀρχή*). From the silence of Dem. we must infer either that Aesch. inserted this argument in the later edition of his oration, or that Dem. judged it unwise to attempt any refutation. The answer of Dem. to this second count of the indictment is generally regarded as unsatisfactory, at least when taken from a strictly legal standpoint. How far the law requiring the incumbent of an office to give in the account of his administration prior to his receiving any public honor may have become obsolete, it is impossible to say; that it had often been disregarded before, seems quite probable from what we know of the irregular and imperfect character of Athenian administration. And hence Dem. may have felt it quite safe to leave this point of the case out of view, as likely to be overshadowed by the argument showing the unreasonableness of being obliged to give an account of one's donations to the public service.

(d) §§ 120–122. THE PLACE OF PROCLAMATION. **μυριάκις μυρίους**: a rhetorical exaggeration; yet not so great as might be, judging fr. the statements of Aesch. — **πολλάκις...τοτεφανώθαι**: notice the change in the phraseology (*τοτεφανοῦν* st. *κηρύττειν*), and cf. note, § 83. — **σκαλὸς** = *perverse*. — **τοῦ δὲ...συμφέροντος**: “etsi vero non dubium veram causam rei fuisse, ut etiam exterorum quam plurimi coronatos cives et urbem talium civium matrem admirarentur, Demosthenis ingenium agnoscas in eo, quod pulchriorem interpretationem proponit.” Diss. The same motive is appealed to by Aesch. c. *Cles.*, § 177 ff., and by Lyceurg. c. *Leocr.*, § 10.

§ 121. **πλὴν...ἀναγορεύεται** is a direct citation fr. the law. — **ψηφίσηται**, sc. **ἀναγορεύεσθαι** ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ. — **ἀναγορεύεται**, sc. **ὁ κήρυξ**. The argument upon the third count of the indictment may be summed up thus: (1) Aesch. claims that the place of proclamation is fixed by law as follows: crowns awarded (a) by the people must be proclaimed in the Ecclesia; (b) by the Senate, in the Bouleuterion; (c) by the committee of the deme or tribe, in the deme or tribe meeting. (2) Dem. claims that the proclamation of *any* crown may be made in the theatre on the vote of the people or of the Senate. (3) Aesch., anticipating this statement, argues that the proclamation in the theatre under special vote applies only to the crowns bestowed upon Athenian citizens by foreign states. As the claim of neither can be confirmed by genuine proofs, we are unable to decide this disputed point. Most critics hold that Aesch. is here also, as in the matter of accountabil-

ity, *technically* in the right ; yet that it is manifestly improbable that the proposal of Ctes. would have been accepted by the Senate, had not *usage* been on his side. But Westermann and others call in question the truthfulness of Æsch. representation, that the Athenian people had voluntarily and wholly cut themselves off from the privilege of proclaiming in the theatre the honors they themselves conferred, while permitting this very thing to be done in the case of crowns awarded by foreigners ; and they believe Æsch. guilty either of perverting the so-called Dionysiac law, or of suppressing that most essential clause cited by Dem. This opinion finds support in the language of Dem.: *νόμου μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη.* But this again is the very charge Æsch. brings against Dem. Cf. infra: *χρήσονται τοῦ νόμου μέρει τῷ, κ. τ. ἐ.* — *Ἄλεβορίζεις, purge with hellebore,* as a cure for insanity. — *ἀλοχύνη...εἰσάγει...μεταποιῶν...ἀφαιρῶν* : many Editt. read *εἰσάγων.* Ordinarily, what is the diff. between the partic. and the infin. after *ἀλοχύνει?* Cf. G M T. 903. 1; H. 986; G. 1580, 1581; Cu. § 594. A similar mingling of partic. and infin. without any apparent diff. in the sense, occurs in Xen. *Cyrop.*, V. 1, 21. 22. Transl., *you are not even prevented through shame from introducing, and you are not ashamed to alter and to garble.* — *φθόνον:* genit. cause, denoting the motive. — *ἀδικήματος, for any misdeed;* genit. cause, denoting the charge or crime.

§ 122. *τῷ δημοτικῷ:* a sarcastic allusion to the words of Æsch. given below. — *Ἐχοντα* agrees with *ἄτον* to be supplied as obj. of *κομιζόμενος.* — *λόγῳ, by description or definition,* as opposed to *πράγμασι...πολιτεύμασι,* and in allusion to the terms of the *συγγραφή.* Some render it incorrectly, *by their speech,* wh. would require *τῷ λόγῳ οἱ τοῦ λόγου.* — *τοὺς δημοτικὸν...γιγνωσκομένους:* change of constr. after *ώστερ* fr. nom. (*ἐκδεδωκώς*) to accus. absol. Cf. § 276; G M T. 853; H. 974; G. 1570; Cu. § 588. — *φῆτα καὶ δρρητα* = lat. *dicendi et tacenda;* “names mentionable and unmentionable.” Wh. “*Billingsgate, as the Londoners would say.*” Kenn. — *ἀμάξης:* in allusion to the custom of the Athenians to revile and banter one another in most unbecoming language, while they were riding in open carts or wagons at the celebration of the Anthesterian festival, particularly on the second day, the X̄ber. Vid. *Dict. Antiq. Dionysia.* Cf. note on *πομπέας*, § 11. This same practice was in vogue among the Athenian women at the Thesmophoria. Cf. Creuzer’s *Symbol.*, IV. 462.

(e) §§ 123 – 125. TRANSITION TO THE THIRD DIVISION OF THE ORATION. *καὶ τοῦτο, this also, sc. let me say, in addition to the statement introduced by καὶ βοῦς above.* — *ἴχειν, has to do with, involves.* — *λοιδορίαν βλασphemίας, κ. τ. ἐ,* but calumny involves defamations, which foes chance to utter against one another in harmony with their own proper spirit. Cf.

note on § 10. With this cf. Cic. *pro Cael.*, 3. 6 : "Sed aliud est male-dicere, aliud accusare. Accusatio crimen desiderat, rem ut definiat, hominem ut notet, argumento probet, teste confirmet; maledictio autem nihil habet propositi præter contumeliam." — ἴντεληφα : we say in Engl., *I take it that*, expressing an opinion resulting from previous reflection. — ἀπὸ τῶν Ιδίων = *ex vita privata*, to be joined w. κακῶς λέγωμεν. — τὰ ἀπόρρητα, *things forbidden*, hence *disgraceful scandals*. Dem. has special reference to the scandalous personalities of Æsch., § 171 ff.

§ 124. οὐδὲν ἡττον ἔμοι = ὅμοις ἔμοι. — πομπέαν = λοιδορεῖν. Cf. note on πομπεῖς, § 11. — οὐδὲν ἔνταῦθα, *not even here*, i. e. in these personalities. — Πλαττον, κ. τ. δ., *is he justly to come off with less*, i. e. than he gave. — φῦ, why the subj. ? Cf. G M T. 287, 289 ; H. 866, 3 c ; G. 1358, 1359 ; Cu. § 511. — ἦν = ἐξῆν. — ἵπερ τούτων : *in behalf of these*, sc. the Athenian citizens. — εἰ τερ τὴδικουν : *if in fact I did wrong*, as by the form of the condition he assumes. — ἄρθετε, *you repeatedly neglected to do so*, sc. λαβεῖν δίκην.

§ 125. ἀθώος, *stand clear by every consideration*. — τῷ χρόνῳ, *by the time*, i. e. wh. elapsed since the accusation was first made, nearly 8 years. — τῷ προθεσμίᾳ, *by the statute of limitation*. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 636, state that 5 years was the limit allowed for bringing prosecutions in cases of indebtedness, recovery of estates, etc. The γραφή παρανόμων could be brought against the author of a decree only within the limit of a year after its proposal ; later than this, the *decree* could still be attacked, but not its *author*. Ctesiphon, whom Dem. represents, was therefore ἀθώος τῇ προθεσμίᾳ. — τῷ κεκρισθεὶ...πρότερον : Diss. makes this refer to the prosecutions by Diondas (§ 222), and by Patrocles for the trierarchical law (§ 105). — τῷ πάλαι δ', κ. τ. δ., *but (where) the state must needs share more or less in the reputation connected with my public transactions, there have you encountered me !* The *enthymeme* contained in this section may be stated thus: Æsch. professes to be the enemy of Dem.; but his prosecution is so conducted that it can result only in injury to the state ; ergo, he is the enemy of Dem. only in name, but of the state in fact. The student will recollect that this same charge of being dishonest *as an accuser* was made by Dem. against his rival at the outset of his speech (§§ 12–16). There, as here, this charge rests on the fact that Æsch. prosecuted so long after the alleged crimes had been committed, that now they could not be properly punished even if proved ; but *there* the conduct of Æsch. is explained as due to personal hatred, *here* as influenced by a purpose to injure the state. With this sharp reproach, the orator concludes what may be regarded as his defence, and proceeds to the attack.

THIRD DIVISION OF THE ORATION.

§§ 126–323. STRICTURES ON THE PERSONAL CHARACTER AND PUBLIC CAREER OF AÆSCHINES, AND REVIEW OF HIS OWN GENERAL POLICY.
 (a) §§ 126–131. PERSONAL CHARACTER OF AÆSCHINES AS AN ORATOR AND A MAN. (b) §§ 132–323. THE CAREER OF AÆSCHINES AS A CITIZEN AND STATESMAN CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF DEMOSTHENES.

(a) §§ 126–131. *δέδεικται*, has been indicated to all, sc. by his preceding arguments. The quiet assurance of the orator, as if certain of his case, probably suggested to the ancient critics the idea that a burst of applause followed his last sentence, wh. he interpreted as a clear proof of his acquittal. We may well believe that the orator had more convincing, if less palpable, tokens than this of his power over his auditors. — § 126 introduces an *anacoluthon*. The apodosis that would regularly follow *ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν...* *δέδεικται*, is suppressed under the influence of passion. (Cf. Hermog. Περὶ Ἰδεῶν, II. p. 342.) V. supposes that the orator, had he spoken calmly, might have expressed himself thus: *χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν εἰπεῖν, διπορῶ δέ, τοῦ πρώτου μηρσθῶ*. But it is only after a vehement outburst of passion (in §§ 127, 128), called forth by the invective of Aesch., that the orator proceeds (in § 129) to speak of the personal history of his opponent, without regard to the structure of his previous period. — *βλασφημίας* should regularly come *after εἰρημένας*, but is placed *before* it for the sake of rhetorical emphasis. Similar are *τὴν τὸν...* *δέξαντα πάρχοντας*, § 98, *τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους*, § 201, *τὴν...δρχὴν πραττομένην*, § 293. W. — *αὐτὰ = by themselves, alone*. Cf. § 168. As Aesch. before occasioned the self-laudation of Dem., so now he is blamed for the personal invective uttered by his rival. We could wish that Dem. had magnanimously refused to follow the example of Aesch. in this regard. — *τίνων = ἐκ τίνων*. — *διασύρει*: Cf. note on *διέσυρε*, § 27. — *μερίων* has the same sense here as in § 10.

§ 127. *Ἄλακες, κ. τ. ἐ*: the three judges in Hades, who were regarded as models of stern and inflexible justice. — *σπερμολόγος*: Deriv.? For the meaning Schaeff. cites Eustath. *Hom. Odyss.*, p. 1547: *εἰδός ἐστιν δρνέου λαβθώμενον τὰ σπέρματα· ἐξ οὗ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ σπερμολόγους ἔκάλουν τοὺς περὶ ἐμπόρια καὶ ἀγορᾶς διατρίβοντας διὰ τὸ ἀναλέγεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῶν φορτίων φασὶν ἀναρρέοντα καὶ διαζῆν· ἐκ τούτων δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐλάγχανον κλῆσιν καὶ οἱ οὐδενὸς λόγου άξιοι.*

"A retailer of second-hand and second-rate information." HOLMES. The Athenians applied the same epithet to the Apostle Paul, *Acts xvii. 18*. — *περιτριψμα ἀγορᾶς*, a *hack of the market*; this term answers very nearly to our *police-court pettifogger*. — *δλεθρος*: the subst. used as an adj.; *a wretch of a clerk*. Cf. *ἀνθρώπους δλέθρους*, Dem. c. *Aristocr.*, § 202;

δλέθρου Μακεδόνος, *Phil.*, III. 31. Æsch. had been at one time the clerk of some of the petty magistrates. Cf. § 261. — ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ: Cf. note on ἑτραγῳδίαι, § 13.

§ 128. κάθαρμα, scum, offscouring (fr. καθαρεύ). — οὐς τῶν...οὐδέν, when no one of those who have really enjoyed it (ησ) would use any such expression concerning himse'f. The relat. clause ησ...τετυχηκότων performs the function of connecting this and the preceding sentence. — κανέντερου λέγοντος: give the equivalent conditional clause in Greek to correspond to ἔρυθράσσειν. — τοῖς...ἀπολεψεῖσι, to those destitute of it (sc. παιδεῖα). — ὥν' ἀναισθῆτος, through stupidity; aus *Blödsinn*, Jacobs; to be joined w. προσποιούμενοι. They are simpletons who suppose that they can pass for educated men by simply *making a pretence* to education. — τὸ...ποιεῖν...τὸ...δοκεῖν, subj. of περίεστων. Transl. : there results that they cause those who hear to be in pain, whenever they speak, (but) not that they appear to be such persons (as they pretend). τοιούτοις is attracted fr. the accus. in the predicate w. εἶναι to agree w. προσποιούμενοι. Cf. συκοφάντη, § 266.

§ 129. τοῦ = τίνος: how governed? — Τρόμης: the Schol. thinks the father of Æsch. may have had the position of assistant in the school of Elpias. In de F. L., § 249, Dem. speaks of Tromes as himself διδάσκων γράμματα. Cf. A. Schaef. I. p. 191. — χολικας...ξύλον, stocks, leg-irons, ...wooden collar. These were instruments of torture to punish refractory slaves. — μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις, by means of midday prostitutions. “Significatur igitur imprimis flagitiosa vita, quæ ne noctis quidem tenebris se occultaret.” Diss. In regard to these reproachful personalities we remark substantially w. Schaef. I. p. 197 ff. : from Dem. de F. L., §§ 200, 249, 281, it appears that the mother of Æsch. was of Athenian birth, and a priestess, but guilty of gross conduct in the discharge of her priestly office. The representation, therefore, of Dem. is, to say the least, exaggerated. These disgusting personalities have much the same character as the personal satire of comedy. To arrive at the degree of their truthfulness we must sift them of all intentional exaggeration, and view them in somewhat the same light as the mockery and satire wh. Aristophanes heaped upon Cleon, Euripides, and Socrates. What we find therein to censure, we must charge to the account, not so much of the individual orator, as of the perverted taste that took delight in the utmost license of speech upon the bema no less than upon the stage. — πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ήρω, near the hero Calamites, i. e. near his statue. Commentators have generally understood this as referring to the same locality designated in de F. L., § 249, as πρὸς τῷ τοῦ ήρω τοῦ λαρποῦ, and Voemel and Westermann have identified this *Hero-physician* with the Scythian named *Toxaris*, who is mentioned by Lucian, *Scyth.* I. This Toxaris, acc. to Lucian, lived in Athens as the friend of

Solon, was buried in the Ceramicus, and subsequently deified and worshipped as the “Stranger-physician,” in the belief that through advice given by his spirit the plague was stayed in Athens. The true explanation of Καλαμίτης (wh. has been made to mean by some *probe-man* or *surgeon*, by others *reed-man*, as the patron of flogging schoolmasters!) has been found, doubtless, by Professor Goodwin, whose interpretation we take from Vol. IV. Transactions of the Amer. Philol. Assoc., 1873. “His monument [sc. the physician’s] existed in a mutilated state in Lucian’s time, representing a Scythian *bowman* with a *strung bow* in one hand and a book in the other. Now καλαμίτης can mean *bowman* (or, more exactly, *arrow-man*), as κάλαμος very often means an *arrow of reed*. It will then be simply an equivalent for *Scythian*, and it will be remembered that the police of Athens were called both Σκύθαι and τοξόται.” This monument was a relic of antiquity even in the time of Dem., and he refers to it as marking a well-known locality. Recent discoveries seem to place it not far from the Theseum.—τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα, *the handsome puppet*. Acc. to Diss., a sarcastic allusion to the fine figure of Aesch., and to his repose of manner in speaking. Cf. *de F. L.*, § 255.—τριταγωνιστὴν : cf. §§ 209, 262, 265.

§ 130. ταῦτα, i. e. relating to his parentage.—οὐδὲ γάρ...δὲ καταρᾶται : none of the various explanations of this sentence, wh. I give in the order of my preference, seems wholly satisfactory. (1) Join the sentence closely to ἔσσω : I disdain to speak more about his parentage, *for that was not his parentage to which he laid claim by a happy circumstance* (this circumstance is the manœuvre by wh. he became the child of apparently respectable Athenian citizens, and is described in δύε γάρ, κ. τ. ἐ., below), *but his family was such as the people curse*, i. e. slaves by descent, who had managed to creep into citizenship. The presumption is that such characters were included in the curse pronounced by the herald in opening the meeting of the Assembly. (2) Quite a large number of critics take ὁν ἔτυχεν as equivalent to τῶν τυχόντων and as masc., and read : *he did not spring from ordinary people, but from those, etc.* (3) V. understands ἦν not of descent, but of *belonging to as a class*; *neque enim unus ex iis erat, quorum erat casu, sed ex iis*, etc. The sense, acc. to this view, is that while Aesch. was of low parentage *by chance*, he was of base and accursed companionship *by choice*. Cf. §§ 282, 297. (4) Diss. takes ὁν and οἱ as neuter and οἱ βεβίωκεν as subj. of ἦν, and reads : *for his acts were not of an ordinary sort, but such as the people execrate*.—δύε γάρ ποτε, κ. τ. ἐ., *for it is quite recent — recent, do I say? nay, (μὲν οὖν) yesterday only or the day before.*—Τρόμητος, *Tromes* = *the trembler*, would be a fitting name for a slave; *Astrometus* = *the dauntless*, has a superior ring to it.—Γλαυκοθέαν : Apollonius says in the biography of Aesch. that his mother was named by

some Γλαυκίς; add to this that *Aesch.* (*de F. L.*, § 78), speaks of his mother's brother as Γλαῦκος, and we may fairly infer that her real name was *Glaucis*, wh. was lengthened to do honor to the superior station of her son. So Lucian represents the old cobbler *Simon*, when he had become rich, lengthening his name to *Simonides*. — Τεμπουστάν was the name of a goblin wh. had the ability to assume all sorts of shapes. *Aristoph. Ran.*, 288 ff., describes this monster.

§ 131. ἐκ: “*instead of*; as coming *out of* one state into the other. The idiom is very common. Cf. Soph. *O. T.*, 454; *Antig.*, 1093, etc.” HOLMES, — οὐχ δπως...ἀλλά, *not only not ... but*; without the usual *καὶ* after *ἀλλά*, as in Lys. 30. 26: οὐχ δπως ὑμὸν τῶν αὐτοῦ τι ἐπέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων πολλὰ ἀφῆροται. Cf. H. 1085 a; G. 1504; Cu. § 622. 4. — ἄρα, *forsooth*; ironical. Cf. § 22. Point out the antithesis between this and the next sentence. As in the opening of his speech the orator defended himself first against the attacks upon his private life, so here he has directed his attack first upon the private life of *Aesch.* Since he treats this topic afterward at greater length, it seems as if it were introduced here for the sake of giving unity and symmetry to the structure of the oration.

(b) §§ 132–323. I. §§ 132–139. THE SUSPICIOUS CONDUCT OF *ÆSCHINES* IN RELATION TO ANIPHON, TO PYTHON, AND TO ANAXINUS. ἀποψήφιοθέντα, *disfranchised*. In 346 b. c., a general examination (*διαψήφισις*) of the registries of citizens took place for the purpose of testing the validity of the claim to citizenship. Among many others, Antiphon was stricken from the list (*ἀποψήφιζεσθαι*). In revenge for this disgrace he offered his services to Philip. — οὐ λαβόντος, κ. τ. ἐ.: the constr. of this sentence is very similar to ης τῶν μὲν, κ. τ. ἐ., in § 128. — ἀνευ ψηφίσματος, *without a warrant*. “An Athenian's house, like an Englishman's, appears to have been his castle wh. could not be entered without legal warrant for that purpose, wh. Dem. did not in this case possess.” Wh. Cf. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 588.

§ 133. η ἐξ Ἀρεοπού πάγου: the famous court of Areopagus had the right in cases of extreme danger, such as conspiracies against the state, at least to order arrest and to institute legal examination. When Antiphon was discharged by the Assembly, the Areopagus arrested him again and delivered him up for trial to the Heliastic court. Cf. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 344. — ἐν οὐ δέοντι, *at an inopportune, ill-timed juncture*. — καὶ τὸ δίκην, κ. τ. ἐ., *and slipping through the hands of justice, would have been sent out of the way by this fine-spoken gentleman*. — στρεβλώσαντες: torture was applied by the Athenians either for extorting testimony or as a means of punishment; to slaves without any preliminary legal process, but to citizens only on the special decree of the Assembly.

§ 134. σύνδικον, advocate. — ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵρου: the Athenians had long contended w. the Delians for the control of the sanctuary of Apollo on the island of Delos. In 343 b. c. the Delians brought the affair for decision before the Amphictyonic council. The patriotic party at Athens, desiring greatly the election of an anti-Macedonian as advocate (since Philip had great influence in the council), contrived to transfer the election from Aesch. to Hyperides in the manner described. — προσελεσθεῖς: so read Dind., Bekk., Lipsius, after the conjecture of Wolff, contrary to the MSS. wh. have προειλεσθεῖς. προσαρτεῖσθαι = to take to one's self in addition; hence, you had associated with you also that body (*κάκείνην*) in addition; i. e. the Senate and Assembly invited the Areopagus to co-operate with them; otherwise, the Areopagus would have had no right to rescind the vote by wh. Aesch. had been elected. προαρτεῖσθαι = to choose before or instead of; hence, you had selected it to act for you, i. e. delegated it. The chief difficulty of the latter reading lies in καὶ (in *κάκείνην*), wh. is then best joined w. what follows. — Υπερέδη: one of the ten Athenian orators, and a prominent anti-Macedonian leader. Persuaded by his much-lauded λόγος Δηλιακός (cf. Sauppe, II. 285 ff.), fragments of wh. only remain, the council decided in favor of the Athenians. — ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ: the most solemn method of voting was to place the ballots (*ψῆφοι*) upon the altar for consecration preparatory to depositing them. The earliest instance of this usage is found in Herod., VIII. 123: Διένεμον τὰς ψῆφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ.

§ 135. μέλλοντος λέγειν is the reading of Σ as corrected by a later hand (the original being partly erased), and of most MSS. V. and Dind. read λέγοντος, wh. Holmes takes as an *impf.* and strangely renders: *when he was going to speak.* The genit. absol. constr., st. τοῦτον μέλλοντα λέγειν obj. of διήλασεν, gives more prominence to this clause. Cf. Xen. *Anab.*, I. 4, 12; II. 24; Thuc., I. 114. — οὐκοῦν: the force of οὐκ and οὐν is clearly noticeable here: *when, therefore,...then it showed him to be, etc. (did it not?).*

§ 136. Ἐν μὲν, κ. τ. ἡ., *This one transaction, therefore, of this fine young fellow was of such a nature; similar of course, for why not? to those, etc.* Ἐν as opposed to ἔτεσσι below. — νεανίου refers not to age, for Aesch. was at this time more than 45 years old, but to the arrogance and violence of youth. — Πύθων: a noted orator who served in 343 b. c. as the advocate of Philip in an embassy to Athens, in relation to the maintenance of the peace of Philocrates. All the information we have concerning Python's speech on the subject before us is found in the oration on the Halonnesus (§§ 18–23). This oration was formerly attributed to Dem., but is now believed to have been written and delivered by Hegesippus, a coadjutor of

Dem. on this occasion. — πολλῷ ρέοντι, *in the full torrent of speech.* ρέων is often used of *speech*. So in Aristoph. *Eg.*, 526, 527; Hor., *Sat.*, I. 7, 28, has “*salso multoque fluenti*.”

§ 137. μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑστερόν: *thereupon (relative time), later (absolute time).* — Ἀναβίνω: a Eubœan who came to Athens about 340 B. C., probably while the preparations for the expedition to Oreus were in progress (cf. § 79), ostensibly to make purchases for Olympias, the queen of Philip. Dem. pays no attention to the reproach of his rival: cf. Aesch. c. *Ctes.* §§ 223, 224. — μόνος μόνων: the skilful collocation of the words in this sentence brings out the sense very forcibly.

§ 138. καὶ γάρ: an instance of the frequent elliptical use of *καὶ*. — οὕτω πῶς, *somewhat as follows.* — ξτι = *praeterea.* — ὁν: attracted fr. the accus. into the case of *τούτων*. — ὑπηρετῶν...ἐπηρεάζων is an instance of play upon words of similar sound. — εἰς ἀκριβῇ μνήμην, *these things are not treasured up by you for accurate remembrance;* the *εἰς* indicates the aim or object. — οὐδὲ' ἦν προσῆκεν δργὴν, *nor for proper resentment.* For the constr. cf. H. 995; G. 1037; Cu. § 597. — ὑποσκελίζειν: a colloquial word. Deriv.? — ἀνταλλαγτόμενοι, *bartering away in exchange for.* Where has Dem. spoken of this before? — διόπερ ρέόν, κ. τ. ἐ: the same sentiment is expressed in a less vigorous way in *Phil.*, III., § 55: ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφαλεῖας πολιτεύεσθαι δεδώκατε τούτους ή τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγουσιν.

§ 139. τὸ μὲν...συναγωνίζεσθαι is subj. of *δεινὸν* (*ἔστιν*) and has answering to it the sentence ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδή, κ. τ. ἐ. — πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν refers to the renewal of hostilities w. Philip after the dissolution of the peace, in 340 B. C. — πῶς γάρ οδ: parenthetical, as οὐ γάρ in § 136. — τὰ πλοῖα: cf. note § 73. — Χερρόνησος: cf. note § 80. — ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, *upon Attica.* Dem. alludes to the invasion of Locris, 339 B. C., when Philip seized Elatea (cf. § 169); before this no direct march upon Attica had been attempted by Philip. — βάσκανος: in what other connections has this word been used? — *Ιαμβειογράφος*, *writer of iambics*; a contemptuous allusion to Aesch. as a poetaster and playwright. The older Editt. read *Ιαμβειοφάγος* = *iambic eater*, i. e. *mouther of iambics*, referring to his bad recitation of iambics as an actor; but w. this the word *βάσκανος* and the context (*οὐδὲ' ἔστιν...ψῆμα*) do not so well harmonize. Besides, V. has shown that *Ιαμβειογράφος* is the true reading of Σ, and cites as corroborative testimony Aesch. c. *Timarch.*, § 136: *περὶ δὲ τῶν ποιημάτων ὡν φασὶν οὐτοὶ με πεποιηκέναι, τὰ μὲν δμολογῶ, τὰ δ' ἔξαρνοῦμαι μὴ τούτον ἔχειν τὸν τρόπον δε οὗτοι διαφεύγοντες παρέξονται.* — *Ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὥδατι* = *during the time allotted me.* Each party to a suit had a given portion of time allotted him, wh. was measured by the water-clock (*κλέψυδρα*, cf. Dict. Antiq.). To offer an opponent the opportunity to speak “*in one's water*” was to challenge all contradiction.

This phrase explains the joke at the sobriety of Dem., sc. that other men spoke by water, he composed by it. — αὐτὸν : subj. of some such word as αλρεῖσθαι to be supplied and depending on ἀνάγκη ἔστιν. — ξένοι...ξητοῦντα : the particc. have a strong causal force here. — παρὰ ταῦθ', contrary to these. Is there any escape from the dilemma of the alternative here presented ; if so, what ?

II. §§ 140 - 159. THE PART WHICH AESCHINES PLAYED, AS THE HIRELING OF PHILIP, IN PROVOKING THE AMPHISSIAN WAR. ὡσπερ οὐδὲν ἔγραψεν looks back to οὐδὲν ἔστιν ψήφισμα οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνη, § 139. — οὐ μὲν οὖν, nay, no one else had a chance to say anything. — τὰ μὲν δὲλλα : as contrasted w. εὐ δ'. — ἐπεξεργάσαστο : what is the force of ἐστί in composition ? — ἐπέθηκε τέλος, gave the finishing stroke. — τῶν Ἀμφισσέων = περὶ τῶν Α. So in Thuc., I. 140 : τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα. — τῶν Δοκρῶν : the reverse order would be more natural : the Locrians (generic), sc. the Amphissians (specific). Amphissa belonged to the Ozolian Locrians. — τὸ, this affair, i. e. the one alluded to above in εὐ δ', κ. τ. ἐ. This demonstrative pronominal use of the article, belonging originally to the Epic dialect, is occasionally found in the prose as well as the poetry of the best Attic period. Cf. Plato *Phæd.*, 87 c ; Soph. *Trachin.*, 1172. See Kühner's Gramm., § 247. 3. — ξενίψῃ, wash off. The metaphor is familiar to all languages :

“ Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand ? ”

SHAKESPEARE, *Macbeth*, II. 2.

οὖτε is the emphatic word. However much you may say, *that* you will not accomplish.

§ 141. καλ, and especially. This solemn invocation, wh. reminds us of § 8, the orator justifies in the next paragraph. The divinity invoked is Apollo, because he is the one most directly concerned in the transactions that are now to be discussed. — πατρῷός : “ The ancient Attic king Ion was called the son of the Pythian Apollo, probably in consequence of the Ionians having adopted the worship of that deity from the Dorians, and the Athenians had πατρῷαι θυσίαι at Delphi.” Wh. But this opinion that the worship of Apollo was derived fr. the Dorians is now generally discredited ; on the contrary, the appellation πατρῷός harmonizes w. the belief that the Apollo worship was fr. the first peculiar to the Ionians. — εἰ...εἰπούμενον : a combination of two protases w. one apodosis (ἐπειχομα). Cf. G M T. 508, 509 ; H. 901 c. — καλ τότ', and if I did speak it, right at the very moment when. — πρὸς, with a view to ; st. for the sake of. — ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσατ, to render me destitute of the enjoyment of any good.

§ 142. Τί οὖν, κ. τ. ἐ, Why then have I made these so grave imprecutions

and assurances? — **δημοσίᾳ**, *the archives*. — **ἴχων...εἰδὼς**: strongly conclusive. — **λάττων**: *minor quam ut conficeret*. — **ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη**, sc. in the acquittal of Aesch. on the famous trial (343 b. c.) for his violation of oath and neglect of duty as envoy to Philip concerning the peace. Cf. § 35.

§ 143. **τὸν...πόλεμον**: the circumstances that led to this war, sometimes called the “Third Sacred War,” are given in the subjoined extract from the speech of Aesch. In citing this passage there is omitted, as unimportant to the question at issue, the story how this Cirrhaean plain came to be consecrated (to wh. allusion is made by Dem. in the words *λόγους εὐπροσώπους*, § 149). The unusual and emphatic order of the words in this sentence must not escape notice. — **'Ελάτταιαν**: cf. note, § 152. — **δις** refers to Philip. — **εἰς ἄντρον**, *is the author alone and singly of all our greatest calamities*; or, *of greater calamities than any other one individual*. — **ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ**, wh. was held immediately after the return of Aesch. fr. his mission to the Amphictyonic council. — **πόλεμον** **'Αμφικτυονικόν**: up to this time the war w. Philip had its theatre in and about the northern possessions of Athens; but now, when it was easy to foresee that Philip, who had usurped the place of Phocis in the Amphictyonic council, would be intrusted w. the leadership of a war waged under the auspices of this council, the warning cry **πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις** ought not to have sounded in vain. — **ἐκ παρακλήσεως**, *those seated together by preconcerted arrangement*; lit. by *summons*. **παράκλητος** = Lat. *advocatus*. The orator means the Macedonian clique wh. generally sat together in the popular Assembly whenever concerted action seemed desirable.

§ 144. **ἐπακόντατος** is used here in the sense of the simple **ἀκούειν**. — **ἐκαλύθητε**, sc. in the earlier deliberations, when Aesch. and his clique had everything their own way. Later, the opposition of Dem. was more effective. Cf. the account of Aesch. infra. In regard to the charge of Aesch. that Dem. procured the passage of his decree by the artifice described in the citation, Grote remarks: “There is nothing to confirm such insinuations; moreover Aesch., if he had still retained the public sentiment in his favor, could easily have baffled the tricks of his rival.” — **κατ...κατ...κατ**: correlated. — **δεινότης**: *calliditas*, Schaeff.: *craftiness*, Kenn.

§ 145. **ἥν..ει...ποιήσεις**: what kind of a condit. sent.? Cf. G M T. 696; H. 937; G. 1502, 2; Cu. § 549. — **Θηβαῖος...Θερραλοῦς**: while the traditional hatred between the Thebans and Athenians continued unabated (cf. § 168), there had arisen on the other side an estrangement between the Thebans and Philip, of wh. the refusal of Thebes to participate in the measures against the Amphissians (cf. Aesch. § 128) was an expression. In this state of things, it was probable that Thebes would not only decline to join Philip in an expedition against Athens, but would even prevent his

army from passing through her territory ; and it was doubtful whether under such circumstances the Thessalians would follow him. Cf. A. Schaeff., II. 505. — τῶν λῃστῶν, *guerillas*; the reference is to private bands of marauders who by land and sea harassed the domain of Philip. — τὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας : cf. note, § 44.

§ 146. μήτε...μήτε, st. οὔτε...οὔτε, because the particc. have a conditional force. — ὅποιοισιδήποθ', of whatever sort they were ; a point upon wh. he does not expatiate (έω γάρ τοῦτό γε). — αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει, to suffer ill from the very nature of the locality and the circumstances of each party. The power of Philip lay in his land forces, that of Athens in her navy ; the way to Athens was obstructed over land by the Thebans, over the sea by the Athenians.

§ 147. εἰ...συμπλέθο...Διὸς ἡγεῖτο προσέξειν, if then he should try to persuade to join (*συν*) ... he thought that no one would be likely to pay attention to him. Notice the emphatic position of τῆς ἀλλας ἐνεκ' ἔχθρας. Διὸς προσέξειν would regularly be Διὸς προσέξοι in the finite form. The fut. opt. w. Διὸς is so rare that its existence is denied by some grammarians. For this reason some critics propose either to omit Διὸς or to change the text to Διὸς προσέχειν. But cf. G-M T. 203, 208; Kühner's Gramm., § 260. 5 a; Baumelein de Modis, pp. 295-297, 351. Undoubted instances of the fut. opt. w. Διὸς are found in Lycurg. in Leocr., § 15; Lys. de caede Erat., § 22; of the fut. infin. w. Διὸς in Dem. Leptin., § 35; Thuc., II. 80. — Εἰναὶ...ταρακρούσεσθαι, but if in assuming the common pretexts of these he should be chosen leader, he hoped he would in part quite easily deceive them and in part persuade them. The second of these two conditions (sc. Εἰναὶ αἱρεθῆ) expresses the more probable or nearer alternative, the one wh. was later actually fulfilled. Just below Dem. makes the same discrimination : εἰ εἰσηγοῖτθε τις and Διὸς Ἀθηναῖος ἦ. — Τὰς...κοινὰς προφάσεις : the same wh. are called προφάσεις Ἀμφικτυονικὰς in § 158, and relating to the supposed violation of the rights of the Delphic god by the Amphyssians and Athenians. — τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοις : dat. comodi. — περὶ = in, denoting place and time. So περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πύλεμον, § 96. — Πυλαῖαν : the Congress of the Amphyctyons bore this name, as the delegates that of πυλάγοραι (§ 149), from the circumstance that it assembled twice each year, in autumn and in spring, in the temple of Demeter at Thermopylae. It was formerly supposed that the spring session was held at Delphi, but the recently discovered funeral oration of Hyperides (§ 16), acc. to Westermann, has confirmed the conjecture of those critics who believe that the delegates first assembled at Thermopylae to perform their ancient rites, and then adjourned to Delphi to transact other business. — εἰς ταῦθ', for these things, i. e. to settle these difficulties.

§ 148. ἱερομνησόνων : deriv.? The difference betw. the Hieromnemons

and Pylagoræ is not wholly clear ; but from the representation of Æsch., § 115, it appears that besides the general meetings in wh. both participated, there were sessions of a more special character attended alone by the Hieromnemons ; and that these alone were the actual official members of the Council and had the right to offer proposals and to pass decrees, while the Pylagoræ seem to have acted merely as councillors, who, whenever occasion demanded, were to plead for the particular interests of their respective states. — ἐκείνον : spoken from the standpoint of the speaker ; cf. §§ 218, 236. — ὑπόψεσθαι : the critical student will observe that this apodosis in oratio recta would differ fr. *τὸν προσέξειν* above. — εὐπόρως λήσαν, *it* (i. e. *τὸν πρᾶγμα = his scheme*) *would easily escape detection.*

§ 149. φυλάττοντος : Schaefer remarks that we might expect φυλαττόμενον = *guarding against*, but the idea of *guarding against* anything involves that of *being watchful* lest it may happen ; hence the middle and active of this verb are frequently interchanged. — προβληθεὶς, κ. τ. ἔτι, *having been nominated and three or four having held up their hands for him, he was declared elected.* The result of a vote was immediately declared by the presiding officer. The method of procedure here described is not entirely unknown in modern political assemblies. — ἐπέρανεν, κ. τ. ἔτι, *he accomplished the ends for which he had been hired.* Whether this charge of Dem. be true or not, it is certain that if Æsch. had been acting as the hireling of Philip, he could have done nothing so favorable to the ambition of Philip and so fatal to the freedom of Greece, as to stir up this new Amphictyonic war. — 8θεν, *how and whence*, going back and tracing the history from its origin. — ή Κίρραια χώρα : the Cirrhaean territory is a fertile plain extending from the foot of Mt. Parnassus to the Corinthian Gulf. How it came to be set apart to the service of the Delphic sanctuary is familiar to all who know the history of the first Sacred War, b. c. 595. — ἀπελέρους λόγων, *inexperienced in speech-making*, in contrast w. the Pylagoræ. “The Hieromnemons were chosen, in Athens at least, from the whole body of people, without distinction of person.” W.

§ 150. περιελθεῖν, i. e. *circuire ad fines determinandos.* Diss. — σφῶν αὐτῶν οὖσαν, *as belonging to themselves.* — τῆς...χώρας : pred. partit. genit. — οὐδεμίαν δίκην...ἐπαγόντων, *although the Locrians were bringing no suit against us, nor those charges which now this man pretends.* Dem. does not directly contradict the narrative of Æsch.; his argument is this : no summons had been served by the Locrians on Athens, and without such summons no prosecution could legally be carried on ; hence there were still many steps to be taken before final judgment could be pronounced against Athens ; Æsch. ought, therefore, to have tempered his zeal w. a little good sense, to say nothing more. The account of Æsch. gives no explanation of

the most vital point in the whole affair, the appointment of Philip to conduct the war. Cf. Grote, XC.; A. Schaef., II., p. 498 ff. — *τελέσασθαι, to bring to an issue* (*τέλος*). — *ἀπὸ πολας ἀρχῆς, from what cause?* *ἀρχή* is used in the Homeric sense of *αἴτια*. V. cites in confirmation of this rendering a Schol. wh. explains *ἄταξ ἐκ τούτων* in the next paragraph by *ἀπὸ μᾶς ἀρχῆς = αἴτιας μᾶς*. Some take *ἀρχή* to mean here *magistracy*, and read *under the auspices of what magistracy?* But W. remarks that this idea is implied in the preceding *τις... ἐκλήγειν*. Inferior MSS. read *ἐπὶ πολας ἀρχῆς*, wh. is made to mean : *in what archonship?* But this idea the Greek would express by *ἐπὶ τίνος ἀρχοντος*. — *ταῦτη κατέχει, you have made use of this as an empty and false pretext*. The omission of the art. makes *ταῦτη* the subj. and *προφάσει* the predicate of the clause. Cf. H. 674; Kühner's Larger Gramm., § 246. 3, Rem. 1.

§ 151. *μικροῦ κατηκόντισαν, well-nigh shot them all down.* Cf. the account of Aesch., § 123. — *ἄταξ ἐκ τούτων, once for all from these proceedings.* — *Κότυφος*: Aesch., § 128, tells us all we know about him. — *οἱ μὲν, sc. the Athenians and the Thebans, as we learn fr. the account of Aesch.* — *εἰς denotes the terminus ad quem.* They had been expecting to do this all along, and were planning it for the next meeting. — *τὴν ἐπισύναν Πυλαῖαν*: the next regular meeting of the Amphictyonic council. Grote says that the first motion raised by Aesch. against the Amphissians occurred in the spring meeting (he says at *Delphi*, but see note on *Πυλαῖαν*, § 147); next there was held the special meeting wh. elected Cottynthus to the leadership; after this, in September, 339 B. C., came the regular autumnal meeting, wh. is referred to here. — *ἔντι τὸν Φ. ἡγεμόνα ἤγου, lit. they brought affairs (sc. τὰ πράγματα) to Philip as leader.* So in Phil., III., § 57: *οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἤγου τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Φελιππον.* — *οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι, κ. τ. έ., those of the Thessalians and those (lit. of those) in the rest of the states who had been prepared (i. e. bought) and were veteran traitors.*

§ 152. *εἰσφέρειν, to contribute a special tax.* — *ἱημιοῦν, to punish by fine.* — *γέρθη γάρ*: *γάρ* implies an ellipsis in the thought, somewhat like this: but what is the use of wasting many words upon this point; *for you know the result, and that is enough.* — *εὐθέως*: Philip at once set about collecting a force and preparing for his campaign in Hellas. But Dem. neglects to mention (probably w. the intention of making his narrative the more striking and effective) that Philip first marched against Amphissa, and, after destroying it and defeating the combined forces of the Locrians and Athenians, turned back unexpectedly towards Elatea. Cf. A. Schaef., II., p. 513 ff. — *ἔρρωσθαι φράσας, having bidden a long adieu.* This sarcastic use of this phrase is quite common. Cf. de F. L., § 248: *ἔρρωσθαι φράσας τῷ σοφῷ Σοφοκλεῖ.* — *Ἐλάτεαν*: the largest town of Phocis, situated not far fr. the

frontier of the Epicnemidian Locrians, and important as the key to the mountain passes that give approach to and from Thessaly. It had been destroyed, in common w. the other Phocian towns, at the close of the Sacred War, 346 b. c. *Æsch.*, § 140, states that now Philip fortified it. — How much consternation this movement of Philip excited at Athens, we shall presently hear.

§ 153. *ἄστερ χαμάρρους*: the student must have already noticed the sparing use Dem. makes of figures of speech. For Quintilian's criticism of his style and comparison of him w. Cicero, cf. *Institutes of Oratory*, IX., ch. I., § 40; X., ch. I., §§ 105–108; XII., ch. X., § 23. — τὸ γέ *καίφυτης*, *for the moment at least* (though not ultimately). — καὶ...καὶ, *and...also*.

§ 156. *ιπήκουον*, *refused to comply*, either to join him in attacking the Athenians, or permitting him free transit through their borders. — τοὺς...*συμμάχους*: the Arcadians, Eleans, Messenians, and Argives. — τὸ πράττειν: *epegegetical of πρόφασιν*. This use of *πρόφασιν* for the *true reason* is rare and scarcely recognized in the lexicons. It is often opposed to *ἀληθές* (*πρόφασιν μὲν...τὸ ἀληθές δέ*), and is used just below to denote the pretexts alleged by Philip and presented by *Æsch.* TYLER. Cf. § 225, where *ψευδεῖς* is added to distinguish fr. *ἀληθεῖς*, and Thuc. I. 28, 6. — *δόξαντα*, *measures resolved upon by the Amphictyons*. — *ἀφορμὰς*: deriv.? *Occasions, opportunities for acting*, w. the idea of secrecy or dishonesty.

§ 158. *φεύγει...καταφεύγει*: Diss. remarks that these verbs are used together by way of sarcasm. — *περιόντες*: in allusion to the notorious habit of the Athenians of walking indolently about and hearing and discussing news and politics. Cf. *κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι*, § 323. — οὐφ' *ἐνδεις*, sc. Philip.

§ 159. *δν...οὐκ ἀν δκνῆσαιμι, κ. τ. ἐ*, *whom, were one without reserve to speak the truth, I for my part should not hesitate to call the ruinous cause of all the losses that have followed*. — *τόπους*, *districts*; more general in meaning than *πόλεων*. Wh. understands it to mean *forts* = *χωρα*. — δ γὰρ...*παρασχών, οὗτος, κ. τ. ἐ*, *for he who furnishes the seed, he is responsible for the harvest of evils*. Cicero appears to have imitated this passage in *Philip.*, II., c. 22: “ut igitur in seminibus est causa arborum et stirpium, sic hujus luctuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti.” — θν: the relative is taken out of its clause and placed first to serve as a connective; cf. ησ τῶν μὲν τετυχκέτων, § 128; furthermore, θν is the obj. of *ἀπεστράφητε*, the accus. retained after the passive without a prep. Cf. H. 724 a; G. 1239; Cu. § 398. Cf. Soph. *Ed. Col.*, 1272. Render: *from whom that you did not turn away in abhorrence as soon as ever you saw him, surprises me*. — πρὸ, *between you and the truth*; lit. *before the truth*, hiding it from you as by a veil.

III. §§ 160–247. THE PART DEMOSTHENES PLAYED IN DEFENDING HIS COUNTRY AGAINST THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE AMPHISSIAN WAR, BY BRINGING ABOUT THE ALLIANCE WITH THEBES. Συμβέβηκε: as something that is perfectly natural.—τὰ ἔργα...τοὺς λόγους, *the reality...the account*. So Thuc., I. 22: *καὶ δοτα μὲν λόγῳ εἰπον ἐκαστοι, τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων*. — αὐτῶν: cf. note on τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων δόγματα, § 140.

§ 161. τὸν τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντων, *under the influence of those favoring the interests of Philip*. So in § 177: φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα = *favoring your interests*. — ἰκατέροις...ἀμφοτέροις: the former denotes each of the two (Thebes and Athens) in their *separate* interests; the latter the two together in their *joint* interests. — διὰ...δέομενον: the relative sentence preceding its antecedent τὸ...ἔάν awakens expectation on the part of the hearer. — τὸ προσκρούεν, *and for collision with one another*. A strong word; lit. *to dash or strike against*. In §§ 19, 163 the orator uses the compound συγκρούειν = *to strike together*; in § 198, ἀντικρούειν = *to strike back*, hence to turn out badly. — τοῦτο sums up the whole thought; often so used.

§ 162. Ἀριστοφόντα...Εἴθουλον: cf. § 70. — πρᾶξαι ταύτην τὴν φίλιαν, *to effect this alliance*. — βουλομένους...δρογνωμονούντας are supplementary after εἰδὼς, while ἀντιλέγοντας is concessive: *although often contradicting each other (sc. ἑαυτοῖς) in regard to other matters, upon this were always agreed*. — οὐδε...παρηκολούθεις: *Esch. is said to have been secretary to them*. The particc. κολακεῖων and κατηγορῶν contain the important idea. — κίναδος: this word has been rendered *base wretch, vile animal, scandal to humanity, crafty creature, monster, sly fox, reptile*. I prefer the last as most in harmony w. the idea of a sneaking, false character that fawns upon those whom it is ready to betray. — δοκιμασάντων, *sanctioned*.

§ 163. ἐκεῖστε, i. e. to his statement interrupted in § 153. — διτι to be joined w. συνέβη. — συμπεραμένων, κ. τ. δ., *and because the rest of his counjutors had joined (συν) in developing our hostility with Thebes*. The genit. absol. expresses cause or reason here. — οὐπερ, *for which very purpose*; περ indicates the closeness or exactness of the relation. — προσβανέστημεν...ἀναλαβεῖν, *and had we not aroused ourselves a little beforehand (i. e. before Philip's plans were matured), we should not have been able to gain them over to our side*. ἀναλαβεῖν is generally taken in the sense of *to recover or retrieve*. But what is it fr. wh. they could not have retrieved themselves? Some say, *from their enmity*; but this makes poor sense. Others say, *they could not have recovered their position*; but this seems too vague. Dem. wishes to say this: our only hope of successfully resisting Philip lay in a union w. the Thebans; but this hope would be utterly destroyed, if feelings

of hostility were allowed to exist much longer. For this sense of ἀναλαβεῖν cf. Dimarch *c. Dem.*, § 28; Aristoph. *Equit.*, 682. — τὴν ἔχθραν: so reads Σ; inferior MSS. have τὸ τρῆγμα. Our reading appears to favor the interpretation of ἀναλαβεῖν just given.

§ 168. οὐδὲ τούτων, i. e. Aesch. and his accomplices. — ἐπαρθεὶς...ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, *led on by these decrees and by the responses*. Wh. wonders how Philip could have been encouraged to make his attack on Elatea by these ἀποκρίσεις inserted in the text, wh. profess to be written by himself. We suspect that Westermann is right in conjecturing that Dem. alludes to the correspondence then going on between Athens and Thebes, wh. was probably not altogether in a spirit of friendly reconciliation, and of wh. Philip was doubtless well informed. — ὡς οὖδ' ἀν., κ. τ. ἐ., *as though, come what might, we and the Thebans would never again co-operate.* — συμπνευσάντων ἀν = συμπνεύσαντο ἀν, cf. G M T. 215; H. 987; G. 1308. 2; Cu. § 595. For the repetition of ἀν cf. G M T. 223, 224; G. 1312; K. § 261. 3; Madv. G. S. § 139 b. What gramm. objection is there to the form συμπνευσόντων wh. is found in the best MSS.?

§ 169. γὰρ introduces the narration, as we use *now* in Engl. No passage in the oration has been more lauded, and more deservedly so, than this graphic and beautiful description. Cf. Longinus. It is interesting to read and compare the account of this event given by Diodorus, XVI. 84. — Εσπέρα: the order of the sentence emphasizes the fact that this announcement was made in the *evening*. — πρύτανεis: the intelligence would naturally first come to them from their official position. — ὡς: cf. H. 930, 1054d; G. 1476; Cu. §§ 632 d, 526 b. — μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες: the prytanes took their meals in the θέατρον, a building adjoining the Senate room, at the expense of the state. The principal meal (*δεῖπνον*) w. the Greeks was at evening. — τούς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν: cf. note on § 44. — ἔξεργον, *drove the hucksters out of their booths*, for the purpose of clearing the Agora preparatory to convening the Assembly. Cf. Aristoph. *Acharn.*, 21 ff. The descriptive character of the narration is strengthened by the use of the impf. in this and the following verbs. — τὰ γέρρα ἐνείμπρασαν, *set on fire their sheds.* τὰ γέρρα, originally used of wicker-work, later came to signify any kind of covering or roofing. As to the object of this proceeding commentators vacillate between two opinions: (1) in order to clear the space of the Agora with all possible despatch; (2) to serve as a signal of alarm wh. was to summon the people fr. the rural districts into the city. Objection is made to (1) that this act was unnecessary, since there were numerous slaves who could remove these sheds in ample season before the next morning; to (2) that the situation of the Agora was not a suitable one for giving signals. Still, on the whole, (2) seems the more probable theory: first, because no

other step seems to have been taken to call the rural population into the city; second, because there was after all no empty square so large and suitable as the Agora for giving such a signal. — **τοὺς στρατηγοὺς**: these had to summon the extraordinary session of the Assembly. Cf. *ψῆφισμα*, § 37; Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 107. — **ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ**, at daybreak. But there was nothing unusual in this, as we learn fr. Aristoph. *Acharn.*, 20; *Eccles.*, 312, 377. — **χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεῦνται** is the usual form of expression to denote (*χρηματίσαι*) the *discussion* and *deliberation* of any proposal and (*προβουλεῦνται*) the *adoption* of a resolution or bill to be brought before the *ἐκκλησία*. — **ἄνω καθῆτο**: the Assembly was held at that time in the Pnyx, wh. was located on a hill overlooking the Agora. Hence *ἀναβαλνει εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, Dem. c. *Aristocr.*, I., §§ 9, 20.

§ 170. **ὡς**: temporal. — **ἡλθεν**, sc. *εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*. — **ἀπῆγγελαν**: probably through the *ἐπιστάτης* as chairman. — **τὸν ἕκοντα παρήγαγον**, and they had introduced the messenger. — **τρόπα**, kept asking. — **τις ἀγορεύειν βούλεται** is the ordinary formula for opening the business of the meeting. Cf. Aristoph. *Acharn.*, 45. — **πατρῖει**, i. e. *ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα*. — **ῥητόρων**: the Greek rhetors were at this time a class of professional politicians and public speakers. The orator emphasizes the point that all those men were present in this Assembly who were wont to be foremost in giving counsel. — **καλούστης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς**, κ. τ. ζ., and although the common voice of the fatherland was summoning some one to speak in behalf of her welfare. Many Editt. read **καλούστης δὲ τῆς πατρίδος τῇ κοινῇ φωνῇ**, wh. has excellent MS. authority. For the omission of the article w. *πατρίδος*, cf. § 242.

§ 171. **τὸ βῆμα**: the bema was the tribune fr. wh. the Athenian orators addressed the people. As seen to-day among the ruins of Athens, it is a solid cube of stone, some 10 feet in height, having a surface once square and smooth, but now somewhat irregular; it is surrounded at the bottom on three sides by stone steps or seats. — **οἵδ' ὅτι**: parenthetic and without any influence on the construction; so frequently. Cf. § 293; *Phil.*, II., § 29; Soph. *Antig.*, 276. — **οἱ τριακόσιοι**: cf. note on the trierachal system, § 102. — **τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα**, sc. *ὅντας*, and if those who were both (sc. *παρελθεῖν έδει*). **ἀμφότερα ταῦτα** is a *predic.* *accus.*, and simply anticipates the *καὶ...καὶ* following. — **μετὰ ταῦτα**, i. e. after Chæronea, when the citizens made the greatest personal sacrifices to repair their walls and put their city in a better state of defence against Philip. Cf. §§ 248, 312.

§ 172. **ἐκεῖνος...ἐκεῖνη**: very emphatic; *that (memorable) occasion*. — **παρηκολουθηκότα**, who had closely followed up. — **οὐδὲν...ῆμελλεν**, be any the more likely; i. e. for all his wealth and patriotism.

§ 173. **ἔφανην...ἔγα**, *I then appeared to be this one* (i. e. *δν δ καιρὸς ἐκάλει*)

upon that day. The unusual order of the sentence makes ἔγώ very emphatic. What is to be grammatically supplied in the predicate after ἐφάνη; — τὴν...τύξιν, *I did not desert the post of patriotism in the hour of danger.* Cf. § 138: τὴν ἀλόγενον τάξιν; Dem. *Olynth.*, III. § 36: παραχωρεῖν τῆς τάξεως. — πολιτεῖας, *you will be much more familiar with the entire conduct of affairs for the future;* i. e. more familiar w. the principles of my policy as applied to the events that remain to be considered, than you otherwise would be. Some scholars prefer to make τὰ λοιπὰ limit πολιτεῖας; w. this constr. the sense is not materially altered. With this life-like and masterly description the student may profitably compare Webster's graphic account, in the trial of the Knapps, of the murder of their victim.

§ 174. δι: merely to introduce the citation, and not to be translated. What now follows is all we know of the masterly speech Dem. delivered on this occasion. This brief summary is itself an eloquent testimony to the wisdom and magnanimity of the Athenian statesman. First, Dem. shows the advantage and necessity of an alliance w. Thebes; next, what measures are to be taken to secure this alliance. — ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θ....Φ., as though the Thebans were in favor of Philip. ὑπάρχειν τῳ = to be in support (ὑπή) or in favor of any one, a meaning not given by L. and Sc. Cf. Dem. *de F. L.*, § 54: τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷς πεισθῆναι; § 118: ὑπάρχων ἐκείνῳ. — ἡκούομεν...δύτα: how different fr. ἡκούομεν εἰναι? αὐτὸν δύτα, accus. w. ἀκούων as the thing heard. — οὐ' ἔτοιμα, κ. τ. ἐ: a general expression for that he may bring the Thebans over to his side.

§ 175. ἀπαντας εὐτέρωτα, all (those embraced in the category of η...ῃ) he has made friendly to himself. The orator's point is that Ph. has already exhausted his opportunities in Thebes. — δεῖξας, by showing a military force in the vicinity. — ἐπάραι, ποιῆσαι, καταπλήξαι: these infinitives depend on βούλεται, the force of wh. continues. — οὐ' ή συγχωρήσωσι: expresses the ultimate purpose or aim of what precedes. In order that they may either yield through fear what now they are not willing (to yield), or may be compelled by force.

§ 176. εἰ τι δύσκολον = δσα δύσκολα, whatever is offensive; as e. g. what is referred to in § 96. — εἴτα, in the next place; without the δέ as correl. of μέν. Cf. ἔπειτα, § 1. In the next paragraph we find the same omission of δέ. — μη...Θέωσιν: for the negat. and use of mode cf. G M T. 365; H. 887; G. 1378; Cu. § 533. — αὐτῷ, those now opposed to him having received him. Reiske conjectured αὐτὸν as obj. of προσδεξαμένων st. αὐτῷ, on the ground that the pronoun seems more essential in connection w. this than w. the other partic.; but in § 162 we have οὐς as obj. of κολακεύων st. οὐς w. παρηκολούθεις. — φιλιππισάντων: a word coined probably by Dem. So Herod. and Thuc. used the verb Μηδίσεω in the account of the relations

of Persia and Greece. — ἀμφότεροι, i. e. Philip and the Thebans. — πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν...γένησθε, and ye may be inclined to deliberate, instead of to dispute concerning what I may say. — δόξαν: Rauchenstein conjectures ξέω = shall be able (cf. § 172), instead of δέξειν, as the orator would not say shall seem to speak; but by supplying ὥμη this objection vanishes. — ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει: the same order of partic. and subst. is found in §§ 190, 197, 220; a different order in §§ 179, 188. Which is the more regular?

§ 177. τὸ οὖν φῆμι δέν: Diss. notes how skilfully the orator excites attention in beginning the second part of this speech w. this inquiry. — μεραθίσθαι: used absolutely, = to turn about. — τῶν δανῶν: gen. w. ἔγγυτέρω. — προτέρους: as a predicate; the peril is theirs first. — Ἐλευσινάδε: this route would be over the "Sacred Way" to Eleusis (about 12 miles fr. Athens), thence to Thebes in a northwesterly direction across Mt. Cithæron. A more direct way to Thebes led through Acharnæ and Phyle; but this was not so practicable for a large army, nor did it offer any large plain, such as the Eleusinian, for the massing of a large force, in case of an attack. — τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, those who have the requisite age for military service. This designation applies only to the heavy-armed troops; the cavalry, being a branch of service of later origin, is named separately. The military age was from 18 to 60. — οἱ Ιστού, sc. as to the partisans of Philip. — τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι, the boldness to speak freely. — οὕτω...ὑπάρχει, so to those who wish...you stand ready to render assistance.

§ 178. κυριότερος, and to give them, together with the generals, absolute control both of the time to be fixed upon for going thither (i. e. to Thebes) and of the expedition. — τούτῳ...τὸν νοῦν, to this give most careful attention, I pray you. μοι is an ethical dative; cf. H. 770; G. 1171; Cu. § 433. — αἰσχρός: it would be dishonorable to take such advantage of their helplessness. — ἐν τοῖς ἑσχάτοις: some MSS. add κυδίνοις; but we can say: in extremities. — ἡμῶν...προορωμένων: on the principle that those who are somewhat removed fr. danger are calmer and clearer in their judgment than those who are in the midst of it. — καὶ...καὶ, both...and; embracing the apodosis. — προσχήματος: the pretext was to give aid to the oppressed Thebans. — ἐάν δὲ...δέ: the latter condit. clause is special and subordinate to the former, wh. is more general. Cf. εἰ μὲν...εἰ and εἰ δὲ...εἰ in § 217. — ἡμᾶν: dat. agent. The words that Dem. here puts, so to say, into the mouth of the envoys, are lauded by Dionysius in his *Art. Rhetor.*, IX., § 9, for their appropriate (*εὐπρέπειαν*) character.

§ 179. οὐκ εἴπον...οὐκ ἔγραψα, κ. τ. δ.: the antithetic force of μέν...δέ and the peculiar use of the negat. οὐ and οὐδέ, make an exact translation of this much-praised example of climax (cf. Quint. *Inst. Orat.*, IX., Chap. III., § 55) quite impossible. An approximation to the original may be made thus:

I did not say these things and fail to propose them ; I did not propose them and fail to go on an embassy, etc. Lord B. suggests these renderings : (1) by a double negation, thus : *I did not say these things and not propose* ; (2) by the use of *without* in the second clause ; (3) *not only did I say these things, but I propounded a decree, etc.* — **Θεξθλθον**, *I carried the affair through* (*διά*). — **Φέρε** : the orator improves the pause, while the clerk is preparing to read the document, by making personal remarks more or less closely connected w. the point under consideration. So in §§ 212, 219.

§ 180. **Θῶ**, *represent, make out to be.* What use of subjunct.? Cf. G M T. 287; H. 866. 3 ; G. 1358 ; Cu. § 11. — **Βάτταλον** : the origin and meaning of this nickname are in doubt. Demi. claims that it was a pet name given him by his nurse ; but Aesch. c. *Timarch.*, § 126, ridicules this claim, and says in *de F. L.*, § 99 : *ἐν παισὶ μὲν γὰρ ὡν ἐκλήθη δὶ αἰσχρούργαν τιὰ καὶ κωιδίαν Βάτταλος.* The Schol. renders it by *profligate, effeminate*, and derives it variously : (1) from the name of a flute-player or poet, notorious for his effeminacy ; (2) from the sickly and weak condition of Dem. body ; (3) as a term of contempt borrowed from an instrument used by flute-players for beating time, and called *ἰποτίδιον* or *βάτταλος*. Recent scholars connect it w. **βάττος**, **βατταρίω**, and make it mean *slammerer, stutterer*, in allusion to the orator's supposed defect in utterance. — **Κρεσφόντην...Κρέοντα...Ολύμπαον** : these were parts that fell to the *τριταγωνιστής*. Cf. § 129. The first-named character was the third rôle in a play of Euripides of the same name ; the second is the well-known tyrant in the *Antigone* of Sophocles ; the third was a subordinate character in a play of Sophocles bearing this name. — **τὸν Κολλυτῷ**, *whom once in Collytus you wretchedly murdered.* Collytus was one of the country demes in wh. the rural Dionysia were celebrated. In the anonymous biography of Aesch., the story is told that Aesch., in the rôle of Enomaus, on a certain occasion tripped and fell on the stage while pursuing Pelops. — **τότε** : very emphatic. — **δι Πατανιεὺς ἦγε** : in the skilful arrangement of the words each contrasted term occupies relatively a reversed position, except that *σοῦ* comes last for the sake of emphasis.

§ 188. **Αὕτη...πρώτη**, *This was the beginning and first step towards a settlement of our difficulties with Thebes.* **καρδοτασίς** = *constitutio rerum antea turbatarum.* Diss. — **τὰ πρὸ τούτων**, *as regards previous affairs.* — **τὸποι τούτων**, i. e. Aesch. and his coadjutors. — **ἄστερ νέφος** : Larned sums up the merits of this sentence thus : (1) The figure is unexpected ; the sentence would be complete if it closed w. *ἐποιησεν*. (2) It is perfectly natural ; it expresses the thought more truthfully than any literal language. (3) The whole sentence is worded as simply and concisely as possible.

(4) The ancient critics noticed a perfect rhythm in the sentence ; to the ear of Longinus the effect would have been much marred, he informs us, by the substitution of ὡς or ὡσπερει for ὡσπερ. — νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν : as opposed to τότε δεῖξαι. Why the change in the tense of the infin.?

§ 189. ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος, κ. τ. ἐ, for the statesman and the demagogue. In his speech against *Midias*, § 189, the orator states the distinction between the σύμβουλος and the βῆτωρ. The συκοφάντης (cf. note § 112) is further characterized in § 242. — τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, to his followers, i. e. those who have accepted his policy and accordingly hold him responsible. — τῷ καιρῷ, opportunity, i. e. the seasonable time or opportune moment for any action. — τῷ βουλομένῳ refers to any one who may choose to call a political leader to an account for the results of his policy. — συγήσας...ἔτει : in this general definition we should expect σιγῶν...δεῖ ; the past tense is used specially w. an eye to *Aesch.*

§ 190. ὅπερ εἶπον, sc. in § 188 : ήν μὲν...ἐπιτιμᾶν. — ἐκεῖνος, in the predicate and in sharp contrast w. νῦν below ; that was the occasion, therefore. — ἔγω...ποιοῦμαι, but I go so far as to say. — ἀστε...δομογά, that I confess myself guilty. What would be the difference in the thought if the orator had said ὥστε δομογεῖν? Cf. G M T. 582-584; H. 927, 953; G. 1449-1451; Cu. § 665, Obs. 1. — ἔωρακεν = now knows of ; the perfect often represents the state or condition resulting fr. the action of the verb. — πραχθέν : what use of the partic.? Give the Greek clause to correspond to συνήρεγκεν ἄν. Cf. a similar constr., § 30. — εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι, κ. τ. ἐ : cf. § 141 and note. — καὶ τῇμερον, yea, even to-day. — τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων : expressed above by δεῖξαι τι...τι...ἔνην.

§ 191. αἰτιάσθαι, κ. τ. ἐ, this sarcastic inquiry is explained by βασκανεῖ, § 189. — τίς ἔγγιώσθαι, κ. τ. ἐ, who is willing to guarantee the future? — τότε, sc. δεῖξας. — δλλά, yet, introducing the apodosis. — εὐπορεῖν, with which I ought to have furnished myself. The comm. reading is εὑρεῖν. — τῇ πόλει : join w. συμφέρων. Some call it dat. incommod. w. the verb. — πρᾶξις, enterprise, "practical measure," "plan." — μᾶλλον, i. e. than those to wh. he did lead them.

§ 192. τάξιν, the office. In the present and in the future the statesman is required to be at his post discharging his duty. — τότε : when the negotiations w. Thebes were in progress. — προαίρεσίν, the aim ; that wh. one sets before himself as his chosen object. — μή...συκοφάντει, do not rail at the results. — ὡς ἄν...βουληθῇ : whatever it may be, as the use of ἄν w. subjunctive indicates. — αὐτῇ, as viewed by itself. — διάνοια, the intention ; subjective, while προαίρεσις is objective.

§ 193. τῇ μάχῃ, i. e. Chaeronea. Dat. of respect ; the more usual reading is τῇ μάχην. — οὐκ ἔμοι : it is not essential that ἔν be repeated, as is

done in the reading of many Editt. — δοτα ..λογισμὸν, *as many things as are possible in human calculation.* — καὶ δικαῖως, κ. τ. ἐ.: the force of the preceding negative is retained here. — φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, *laboriously beyond my power.* We speak of *superhuman effort.* — τότ' ἤδη: *tum de-mum;* but not before.

§ 194. σκηνῆτε, *but if the tornado that ensued.* Dem. compared what happens to a *torrent* (*χειμάρρος*) in § 153, and in § 214 to a *deluge* (*κατακλυσμὸν*). — μεῖψαν γέγονε, *has proved too strong for.* — τί χρὴ ποιεῖν: the answer to the inquiry is omitted as being self-evident. Schaeff. states it thus: *to keep still and not to accuse;* perhaps it is better put in the form of a question: *to find fault?* Then follows the ellipsis: *that would be unreasonable; just as it would be, if, etc., ὥστεπερ ἀν (εἰη).* Cf. § 243. — εἰ...ναῦκληρον: originally the captain was at the same time the owner of the ship; hence *ναῦκληρος* may mean either. But οὐτ' ἔκυβερνων points to the *owner* who might be held liable for the loss of the cargo, in case the ship was not well equipped. — ἀφ' ὧν: most MSS. have *τάντι* before *κατασκευάσαντα*, as the antecedent of *ῶν.* — χρησάμενον, *encountering; in agreement w. πλοῖον.* Those who take *ναῦκληρον* as referring to the *captain* place this partic. in agreement w. it. — *πονησάντων, and its tackling laboring.* Professor Tyler calls attention to the nautical sense of the words in this passage; thus: *σωτηρίᾳ = for a safe voyage; κατασκευάσαντα = having filled out; πονησάντων and σκευῶν* as above rendered. — *ὥστεπερ...ἔγώ:* thrown in by way of parenthesis, to indicate the application to himself. The appropriateness of this comparison may be remarked in every particular.

§ 195. εἴμαρτο sums up what he has been saying about *τύχη, δὸς αἰμάτων,* and *δὸς θεῶν.* — μηδὲ, *not even.* “A different policy would have left us without even that advantage.” HOLMES. — ἑκαῖνος, i. e. Philip. *He used every effort of persuasion.* — τριῶν ἡμερῶν, *a journey (δόδον accus. of extent) of three days.* The distance fr. Athens to Chæronea is 62 Engl. miles. In § 230 Dem. says: *ἐπτακοσία στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως.* Athens was about 200 stadia distant fr. the Boeotian frontier. From 150 to 200 stadia was reckoned as an ordinary day's march. — τι δν...χρῆν, *what COULD we have looked for?* implying that the fear and panic were already so great that the case could hardly be worse. τι χρῆν προσδοκᾶν above = *what should we have looked for, assuming for the moment that things had been different.* — που τῆς χώρας: somewhere in our territory. — νῦν, i. e. under existing circumstances, as it actually was; opposed to *τότε* below, wh. means in the other case, i. e. supposing my advice had not been followed. — στήναι, κ. τ. ἐ., *to stand firm, to concentrate, to draw breath.* The asyndeton gives us the notion of the rapidity of the thought and action at the crisis. — μία ἡμέρα: this brief respite after the battle of Chæronea, the orator means to

say, was of the utmost importance, and would not have occurred but for the Theban alliance. — **τότε δ'**: another instance of *apostopesis*. Here it indicates horror; but in § 3, anxiety; and in § 22, anger. Cf. note § 3. — **Δ...πεῖραν έδωκε**, sc. αὐτῶν; lit. which did not give a trial of themselves, i. e. enter into our experience. Cf. § 107; Dem. c. *Timocr.*, § 24: **καὶ πεῖραν αὐτῶν πολλάκις δεδώκασιν**. — **τῷ προβάλλεσθαι**, and through the city's throwing before itself (as a shield). The reading *εἴνοια...τὸ* is found in Σ and is adopted by Bekk.

§ 196. **μοι**, dat. int.; *all this long story of mine is directed to you*. — **δικαστρι**: before this Dem. has used **ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι**, but here he wishes to draw the distinction more closely between the jurors and the spectators. — **έξωθεν**, outside the bar; the court was enclosed by a wooden railing (*δρύφακτον*). Aesch., § 56, states that he does not remember ever before seeing so large a multitude present at a public trial. Cic. (*de opt. gen. orat.*, VII. 22) says: *ad quod judicium concursus dicitur e tota Graecia factus esse*. — **έχερκα**, would suffice; **Δν** omitted, as often w. the impf. in such expressions as **ἀνάγκη**, **χαλεπόν**, **εἰκὸς ἦν**, **ἔδει**, **χρῆν**, κ. τ. ἐ. Cf. G M T. 415, 416; H. 897; G. 1400. Cf. *θαυμαστὸν ἦν*, § 248. — **τοῖς ἀλλοις**: dat. assoc. or likeness w. **τῆς αὐτῆς**. — **ταντα**, i. e. of this ignorance and its results. This is one of the most complete dilemmas in the oration; but is there no escape fr. it?

§ 197. (**οὐ γὰρ Δν...έχρωντο**,) for (*if you had*) they would not have adopted these (i. e. my measures). Thus indirectly the orator compliments the sagacity of his countrymen, as well as his own. — **Δν**, sc. **ποιήσεις**, wh. is readily understood fr. the connection, but inserted by inferior MSS. Cf. **ώς Δν** (sc. **ἔχοι**), § 291. — **τῇ πόλει**: dat. dependent on **δυσμενέστατος**. — **ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσιν**, on the occurrence of the events. **ἐπὶ** expresses the occasion or opportunity upon wh. one bases his conduct. Cf. §§ 240, 284. — **καὶ Δμα**: it is this remarkable coincidence that is referred to by **διερ...τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς** above. — ***Ἀρίστρατος**: a different person fr. the tyrant of Sicyon named in § 48. We know nothing further of these partisans of Philip than what is here stated. — **καθάπτω**, thorough-going, out-and-out.

§ 198. **Ἐλλήνων...ἀπέκειτο**: this sentence is hexametric in its rhythm. So § 143: **τὸν γὰρ ἐν...Ἐλάτειαν**; and **τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, κ. τ. ἐ.**, § 188, acc. to Longinus, is dactylic. The ancient critics were fond of pointing out such instances; but such rhythmical structure is, we believe, more general and accidental than special and intentional. — **ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο**, and surely the man for whom the misfortunes of the Greeks are laid up as a store on which to found his personal renown. **ἐνευδοκιμεῖν = εύδοκιμεῖν** ἐν αὐτοῖς. — **καὶ = as**; often so used in the second clause of a comparison; cf. H. 1042 a; Cu. § 624. 3; C. 705 c. — **δηλοῖς**, you make this manifest; sc. **οὐκ ἔνι**, κ. τ. ἐ. — **καὶ πολιτεύῃ καὶ, κ. τ. ἐ,** and from

your political action and again from your political inaction. Kenn. — **πράττειαν, κ. τ. ἐ·**: this form of sentence is technically called *ἀντιστροφή* by the ancient rhetoricians. Other examples in this oration are found in §§ 117, 274. As an illustration from Roman oratory Diss. quotes Cic. *Phil.*, II. 22: Doletis tres exercitus populi Romani interfectos; interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos cives; eos quoque nobis eripuit Antonius. Auctoritas hujus ordinis afflita est; affixit Antonius. — **ἀντίκρουσέ**: cf. note § 161. — **ῥήματα**: in medical terminology *ῥήματα* is used of *bruises* of the fleshy parts and *ruptures* of blood-vessels, and *σπάσματα* of the *sprains* of muscles. — **κινέται**, *are disturbed*; i. e. the old injury or weakness makes itself felt again whenever the body becomes diseased. The same simile is used by the orator in *Olynth.*, II., § 21: *ῶσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν...ἐπάν τε ἀρρώστημά τι συμβῇ, πάντα κινέται, καν* *ρῆγμα καν στρέμμα καν ἀλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σαθρὸν ἥ.*

§ 199. **πολὺς...ἔγκειται**, *he lays great stress upon*. The predicate adj. *πολὺς* used st. an adv.; cf. *πολλῷ βέοντι*, § 136. Cf. H. 619; G. 926; Cu. § 361. 8. — **εἰ...ἡν**: he assumes, for the moment, that it is so. — **τούτων** *ἡν*, *ought the city to have abandoned these things*; referring to the measures wh. he at that time advised the city to adopt.

§ 200. **νῦν...τότε**: cf. note § 195. — **δοκεῖ**, sc. *ἢ πόλις*. — **προστάναι**: alludes to the famous *ἡγεμονία* of the Athenian state. — **ἀποστάσα**: cf. *πραχθέν*, § 190; *ταρόντων ἡμῶν*, § 30 and note. — **πάντας**, sc. *τὰς ἀλλας πόλεις*. — **οὐδένα...οὐχ ἴπτειναν**, *for whose sake there is no danger which our ancestors did not undergo*. For the use of the negat. cf. H. 1031; G. 1618; Cu. § 619, Obs. — **σοῦ**: we naturally expect *τῆς πόλεως* here, but the orator suddenly turns the thought upon *Aesch.*, as if *he* alone were capable of such meanness. — **τῆς πόλεως...έμοι**: in the same constr. as *σοῦ*; we supply *εἴπω* after *μὴ*: *for let me not say "the city" (ye makes πόλεως emphatic), nor yet "me."*

§ 201. **εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματα...γιρημένης**: this entire sentence forms the protasis to *τίσι...ἀφικνουμένους*, and consists itself of two contrasted parts, sc.: *εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματα...ἀπάντων*, and *τὸν δ'...πεποιημένοι*; but as the first part is subdivided into two parts, sc.: *εἰ τὰ μὲν...περιέστη, ἡγεμών δὲ*, we observe that *μὲν* corresponding to *δέ* in *τὸν δ'...πεποιημένοι* is omitted, the full expression being *εἰ μὲν τὰ μὲν* to correspond to *ἡγεμών δὲ...τὸν δ'*. With such contrast of principal and subordinate parts *μὲν* is expressed both times in §§ 104, 214. — **τὰ πράγματα...περιέστη**, *if affairs had turned out as they now have.*

§ 202. **Ἐτι τούτων πρότερον**: the Spartan supremacy was lost w. the battle of Leuctra, 371 B. C., when the Theban began. — **τοῦ...βασιλέως**: that Xerxes actually requested Mardonius to make the Athenians such an

offer is stated by Herod., VIII. 140, and alluded to by Dem. *Phil.*, II., § 11. — **τοῦτ'**, i. e. δ τι...προεστάναι. — δ τι...λαβούσῃ...έχονσῃ...ποιεῖν...**ἴαν**: a metathesis of construction for λαβεῖν...έχειν...ποιούση...έγίνεται. Thus Dem. ironically represents the act of *obeying in a state of subjection* and of *giving up the supremacy* as a privilege. λαβούσῃ of *single acquisition*, έχονσῃ of *permanent possession*.

§ 203. ὡς ζούκε: ironical; so also in § 212. — πάτρια: “πάτριος = that wh. is peculiar to ancestors; as οὐδη, νόμοι.” Krüg. W. paraphrases these adjectives thus: “This they had not inherited fr. their fathers, nor was it consistent w. their ideas of honor (ἀνεκτὰ = to be tolerated by their moral sense), nor was it congenial to their nature.” — ἵκ...χρόνου: cf. note § 26. — προσθεμένη, by attaching herself to; the partic. denotes means. — ἀγωνιζομένη, while struggling: the partic. denotes time. — κινδυνεύοντα: supplementary partic.: cf. G M T. 879 : H. 981; G. 1580; Cu. § 590.

§ 204. ηθειν: “character, as the result of manner and habits. ηθος = a prolonged and strengthened θεος. Cf. Aristot. *Eth.*, II. 1.” TYLER. — ἀποφημάνενον, who declared himself in favor of. — ΚυρσΩΛΟΥ: the connection shows that Dem. has the time just prior to the battle of Salamis in mind. Cic. *de Offic.*, III. 11, speaks thus: “Cyrillum quendam suadentem, ut in urbe manerent Xerxeinque recipierent, lapidibus obruerunt.” Herod., IX. 5, gives the same account, but of a man named Lycidas, and places the event just before the battle of Platea. That there were two victims to the popular excitement of those stirring times, both meeting with a similar death, is not impossible.

§ 205. φήτορα = here σύμβουλον, statesman.—δουλεύσουσιν, they might enjoy slavery; spoken w. a peculiar bitterness and irony of tone. The common reading inserts εὐτυχῶς after it. The use of the fut. indic. after an historical tense adds to the vividness of the expression; so also in ἔξεσται. Wh. remarks that by the use of the indic. here Dem. identifies the Athenians of the two different ages, and represents the liberty and independence of one epoch as the unbroken continuity of the freedom asserted in another. — τῆς εἰμαρμένης, κ. τ. ἐ, his destined end in the course of nature. Lord B. Death is represented (1) as fixed by destiny (*rῆς μολὼς*), in distinction fr. death brought upon one by his voluntary act; (2) as that wh. comes in the course of nature (as by disease), in distinction fr. death caused by external violence (as in battle). — δ δὲ καὶ, sc. νομίζων γεγενῆσθαι. The καὶ = also, i. e. as well as to his parents. — ἔπιθεν = to live to see (any evil). Cf. Aesch. *Agam.*, 1246. — θελήσει, will volunteer. The fut. (st. the pres., as in περιμένει) denotes that he will do this whenever the demand comes. In illustration of this change of tense cf. Soph. *Antig.*, 349, 350. — τοῦ θανάτου: by its emphatic position = than death itself. Wh.

§ 206. *εἰ μὲν...νῦν δέ έγώ μὲν...οὐτος δέ*: observe the double contrast between (1) what he was *not* doing and what he *was* doing; (2) between what *he* was doing and *Aesch.* was doing. — *εἰ πρεξέποντο...διν έπειτημήσαιε*: a mixed condit. sentence: *if I were undertaking* (as I am not), *every one would censure me with good reason* (were he to do what is reasonable). Cf. G M T. 504. — *ὑμετέρας*, *are yours*; predicative, and placed first for the sake of emphasis. Here Dem. purposely underestimates his own services in order to place the conduct of *Aesch.* in a more conspicuous light. — *τῆς μέντοι διακονίας*, *but in the management of each of the affairs transacted I affirm that I also have a share*. *διακονία* is contrasted by means of *μέντοι* w. *προαιρέσεις* and *φρόνημα*; to correspond to *μέντοι* (= *δέ*) there should be *μέν* wh. is suppressed, as in § 201. W.

§ 207. *τῶν δλων*, *the whole*, i. e. both *the aims* (*προαιρέσεις*) and the *administration* (*διακονία*). This is a skilful turn of the orator: my part, he says, was merely to execute what you willed; your part was to cherish the noble purposes and adopt the most patriotic measures. Now *Aeschines* attacks the whole, and in doing so commits a wrong against you greater than against me, inasmuch as your part was more prominent than mine, and the renown belonging to you is eternal, while the honor proposed for me is temporary. — *γλύχεται* is a strong word; acc. to its etymology it denotes a *tenacious* and *eager* striving. — *έγκώμια*: Arist. *Rhet.*, I. 9, defines *έγκώμιον* as a special laudation bestowed for particular and brilliant action, while *έπαινος* signifies praise in general. — *τουδί*, i. e. Ctesiphon. — *τῇ...άγνωμοσύνῃ*, *by the perverseness of fortune*.

§ 208. *μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι*, *no!* *by those of our ancestors who bore the brunt of the danger at Marathon*. The common reading has *οὐ μὰ*, but the negat. is readily understood w. *μά*. In the partic. the *προ-* implies the *fore-front* of the battle. So Thuc., I. 73, represents the Athenians as saying: *Μαραθῶνι τε μένοι προκυδνεῦσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ*. — *Μαραθῶνι*: the common text has *ἐν* M.; but the prep. is regularly omitted w. the names of Attic demes. Cf. H. 783 b; G. 1197; Cu. § 442. — *ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ*, *off Artemisium*. It will be observed that the orator departs fr. the chronological order and names the land and the naval engagements in succession. — *ἐν τοῖς...μνήμασι*: these were in the outer Ceramicus, along the road leading to the Academy. Cf. Pausan., I. 29; Thuc., II. 34. But the heroes of Marathon lay buried on the field of battle. The custom of honoring those who had fallen in battle w. a burial at the expense of the state, goes back to the time of Solon. Cf. § 285. — *ὅμοιος*: emphatic. This lofty strain of eloquence, known as “*the Demosthenic oath*,” has been deservedly admired by all critics. Cf. Hermogenes, p. 425; Quint. *Inst. Orat.*, XI. 3, 168; Lord Brougham, Vol. VII. 124. The chief points to be noted are

these : (1) This oath was an act of religious appeal, for wh. there was a sufficient ground in the belief and feelings of the audience ; it was not, therefore, an empty rhetorical flourish. (2) As a solemn appeal it served to rebuke Æsch., who had brought Dem. into disparaging contrast (see the passages cited fr. Æsch.) w. the ancient heroes of Greece. (3) The simplicity of the orator's style is apparent even in his most impassioned flights. Lord B. thus expresses himself on the word *ἀγαθός* : "Mark the severe simplicity, the subdued tone of diction, in the most touching parts of the *old man eloquent's* loftiest passages. In the oath, when he comes to the burial-place where they repose by whom he is swearing, if ever a grand epithet were allowable it is here ; yet the only one he applies is *ἀγαθός*." (4) The orator, while apparently carried away by his enthusiasm and passion, does not for a moment lose sight of his argument, but carefully subordinates everything to the main thought. "He teaches us," says Longinus, "that in the height of passion we should retain our judgment. He nowhere says 'by those who were *victorious*,' but everywhere shuns the word wh. would indicate the issue of the battles, lest the *defeat* of Chæronea should be suggested to his opponents or his hearers ; till at length he has prepared the way w. the hearers for the conclusion : *all of whom ALIKE the state buried, and not those alone who were successful.*"

§ 209. γραμματοκύφων : ἀντὶ τοῦ γραμματέως, οὗτοι γραμματεῖς προκεκυφητές γράφουσιν. Etym. Magnum. Cf. § 261. The two epithets may be rendered by *accursed scribbler*. — Θεῖοι : cf. Æsch. § 181, cited on p. 92. — ἄντι τίνος, i. e. they were irrelevant to the present case. — ἐμὲ δέ, κ. τ. ἐ, and *I*, who came forward as councillor to the city in matters pertaining to her supremacy, whose spirit ought I to have assumed in ascending the Bema ? — τριταγωνιστά : cf. note § 129. Observe the contrast implied in the juxtaposition of this epithet w. τῶν πρωτείων ; also the emphatic position of *ἐμὲ*. — τούτων : masc., referring to the Athenians. Tyler follows Holmes in referring it to *τρίταια*, κ. τ. ἐ.

§ 210. τὰ...συμβόλαια : obj. of *κρίνειν* ; lit. *contracts, agreements*, but here used of *civil suits* in a general sense. Cf. L. and Sc. — ἐπὶ...σκοποῦντας, by considering them in the light of. For this sense of *ἐπὶ* w. σκοπεῖν cf. §§ 233, 294. — ἀποβλέποντας, by looking away to the praiseworthy precedents. — παραλαμβάνειν, to take along (*παρά*) ; depends on *νομίζειν* and has τὸ φρόνημα for its obj. — τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ : each dicast received a staff, on wh. was painted the letter of the alphabet corresponding to the section of the Heliastic court in wh. he was to serve for that day, and a ticket upon wh. the name of the holder and the number of his division were written. At the close of the sitting the *σύμβολον* was given up as a voucher for the dicast's fee of 3 obols. — τὰ δημόσια, the court-room. — ἑκείνων, i. e. τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξέωματα.

§ 211. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ, *But enough, for*; denotes a transition. — ἐμπεσῶν : as if casually. — ξοτίν ἀ = ἔνα. — ὅπόθεν, sc. ἐκεῖσε ὅποθεν; the digression begins w. § 180. — ἀφικόμεθ', *we had arrived*; i. e. we ambassadors. — τῶν ἄλλων, sc. the Αἰtolians, Dolopians, Plthiotans. — πρέσβεις : Amyntas and Clearachus are named as the Macedonian envoys. — νῦν : to prove that I am not telling a different story *now* fr. what was told at the time of the embassy.

§ 212. συκοφαντίας, *calumny*. — τὸν καιρόν : cf. Aesch., § 137 (cited below) and § 141 (cited on p. 84). — ὡς ἐτέρως : cf. § 85. — ὡς ξοικεῖ : cf. § 203. — ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ βῆτωρ : Diss. observes that the repetition of the article would be objectionable, as the ideas of σύμβουλος and βῆτωρ flow into each other. The article is repeated in ἡ προαρέσις καὶ ἡ πολιτεία (§ 93), τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον (§ 205), τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν βῆτορα (§ 278), where either the emphasis or a logical distinction seems to demand it. — οἰδὲν...συναίτιος : contrasted w. μήνος αἴτιος. In those things wh. might naturally be supposed to have been done in part by me, as being a statesman, he allows me no share; but for those misfortunes wh. are in no way related to my calling and work, I am alone responsible. What consistency!

§ 213. ἐποιήσαντο, i. e. the Thebans. — ἐκείνους : the envoys fr. Philip and those fr. the other allies of Thebes, who had the precedence. — τὸ...κεφάλαιον = *in summa*. — ὡν = τούτων ἀ. — αὐτοὺς, i. e. the Thebans. — βούλονται : the direct for the indirect mode, to give vividness. — ἡ διέντας αὐτοὺς, either by allowing themselves (i. e. the same as ἐκείνους and subj. of ηξον) a free passage through their territory (Bœotia). — τὰ ἐκ τῆς Α. βοσκήματα : cf. § 44 and note. — ἐκ δὲ ὧν...πολέμου, while as the result of what they affirmed we were about to advise, their property in Bœotia would be plundered by means of the war. An argument, as W. remarks, that would have great force w. the selfish Thebans. — συντέλοντ', all aiming at the same result.

§ 214. ἡμεῖς : the ellipsis of ἐλέγομεν immediately after Φλεγον is not harsh. Some MSS. have ἀντείλομεν. — τὰ μὲν...ἔγα μὲν : cf. note § 201. — ἀντὶ...τιμησαίμην, *to report these things severally I would count worth all my life*. — ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα : prolepsis for δέδοικα μὴ ἡμεῖς. — ὥσπερ δὲ...ιγούμενοι is elliptical; the full expression would be ἡγούμενοι ὥσπερ δὲ ἡγούσθε εἰ ἡγούσθε. Cf. Madv. G. S., § 139 c; G M T. 227; H. 905 a, 3; G. 1313. Transl. : *thinking that even a deluge, as it were, had swept over the events*; i. e. all trace of them had become obliterated.

§ 215. μετὰ ταῦτα : this narrative is entirely contradictory to the statement of Aesch., §§ 137, 140, 141. Diss. thinks that such a bare misrepresentation as this of Aesch. (assuming that the account of Dem. is true) could not have been made unchallenged before the court; and he regards

the passage as a later insertion in the revised edition of Aesch. — οὐτε, ἐβοηθέστε: Bremer calls attention to the asyndeton as descriptive of rapid action. — αὐτὸν οὖς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, *that, when our infantry and cavalry were encamped outside the walls.* Reiske understands that the Theban infantry and cavalry vacated their own city for the occupation of the Athenian army and encamped outside. This would be a “compliment” unheard of! Besides, as Diss. observes, the distinctive pronouns *your* and *their* could not be wanting. Boeckh Econ., p. 387, speaks of the difficulty, owing to the laxity of discipline among the ancient soldiery, of obtaining permission to introduce an army into an allied city for quarters. The meaning seems plainly this: the Athenian forces after pitching their camps outside were invited to take up quarters in the houses of the Thebans; accordingly, τὴν στρατιὰν embraces as a general term τῶν ὀπλιτῶν and τῶν Ιππέων. — καθ' ὑμῶν = ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. So Phil., II., § 9: μέγιστον καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον. Contrariwise in Hom. Il., VI. 524, ὑπέρ = κατά: “Οο’ ὑπέρ σέθεν αἰσχεῖ ἀκούων. — σωφροσύνης, self-command, Wh.; good behavior, Kenn.; Enthaltsamkeit, Jacobs. — ἀμένους: explanatory of ἀνδρᾶς; δικαιότερος δξιῶν explanatory of δικαιοσύνης. — καὶ τα...καὶ...δ', κ. τ. ἐ, and what is kept under the closest guard not only by themselves but also by all men.

§ 216. κατὰ γ' ὑμᾶς = quod ad vos quidem attinet. V. — οὔτε...τε: negat. and affirm. correlated; so often. — ταῖς πρώτας: all the MSS. except Σ add μάχας. W. is the only editor we know of, besides Z, that follows Σ. Another instance of such a verbal ellipsis is found in Lysias pro Mantic., § 15: τῆς πρώτης [sc. μάχης] τεταγμένος μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμοῖς. But in our sentence we would more naturally supply παρατάξεις = manœuvres, skirmishes, fr. the preceding partic. W. thinks this admirably suited to the connection, as the allusion is probably to the preliminary marches and skirmishes by wh. the combined Thebans and Athenians sought to check the advance of Philip. — τοῦ ποταμοῦ, i. e. the Cephissus, wh. flows through the plain of Elatea and enters Boeotia not far fr. Charonea. — τὴν χειμερινήν: critics are divided as to the application of this epithet, some making it mean *the skirmish in the winter*, others *in the storm*. But for the latter meaning the word is properly χειμέριος. If, w. Grote, we suppose an interval of 10 months (fr. Oct. 339 to Aug. 338 b. c.) between the capture of Elatea and the battle of Charonea, there is no difficulty in placing these encounters early in the spring of 338 b. c., and understanding χειμερινή of a wintry time among the mountain passes of Phocis, where snow is sometimes found in the spring months. But if, w. Clinton Fast. Hellen., App., p. 16, we suppose that the battle of Charonea occurred only 50 days after the news arrived of Philip's entrance into Phocis, we have no recourse left other than to say w. him, “the word χειμερινή is probably corrupt.”

§ 217. ζῆλον, *emulation, enthusiasm*. — εἰ μὲν...εἰ.....εἰ δέ...εἰ : cf. ἔω
δέ...δε, § 178 and note. — εἰ ὡν...μάρτυρας, *if what he himself called the gods*
to witness as being most excellent; sc. by participating in the sacrifices, etc.
(συνέθεν). — ψηφίσασθαι, i. e. by condemning Ctes., wh. would necessarily
imply a condemnation of the orator's policy. — τοῖς θεούς : the gods by
whom the judges were sworn were the same as those to whom Aesch. had
sacrificed. — εἰ δέ μὴ παρῇν presents the other horn of the dilemma.
Lord B. comments upon the exquisite diction, the majestic rhythm, the
skilful collocation of this passage. The dilemma, he remarks, is better
than the average dilemmas of oratory, and quite sufficient, though incom-
plete, for the momentary victory at wh. alone the orator often aims. What
retort could Aesch. obviously have made?

§ 218. Θηβαῖοι...νομίζειν, *but the Thebans were in the belief that they had*
been preserved through us. The careful student will have noticed before this
the fondness of Dem. for infinitive clauses w. the article. — τοῖς νομίζου-
σιν, i. e. ημῖν. So reads Σ; all other MSS. have δοκοῦσιν. V. supposes
νομίζουσιν to be a corruption due to the proximity of νομίζειν. — οὐτοὶ refers
to Aesch. and his associates. — ἐπειπτεῖν : the imperf. denotes the frequency
of this correspondence, the object of wh. was to incite his allies in the
Peloponn. war to render him more prompt assistance. Cf. § 156. — συνέ-
χεια, κ. τ. ἐ, *my persistence, and my wanderings* (sc. his πρέσβειαι), *and my*
hardships. — διέσχισε : there is no passage in Aesch. speech where this is
done. But cf. Aesch. c. Ctes., § 100. — τι is placed last for emphasis.

§ 219. Καλλίστρατος, *that distinguished Cullistratus*. He was the most
eminent orator of his period, and is said to have incited Dem. when a boy
to the study of eloquence by his speech on Oropus. — Ἀριστοφῶν : cf. § 70.
— Κέφαλος : cf. § 251. — Θρασύβουλος : of Collytus; not the famous de-
liverer of Athens from the rule of the Thirty Tyrants. — διό παντὸς =
ἀπλῶς. Cf. §§ 88, 179. — ἴωλεσκε, *was wont to reserve for himself pri-
vately*. ἴωτο expresses the underlying motive. — εἰ τι γένοιτ', euphemistic
for *in case of a calamity*. — ἀναφοράν, *a final resource, a means of recovery*.

§ 220. οὐτως : very emphatic; join w. μέγαν εἶναι. — ἔδοκε, sc. ὁ κίνδυ-
νος. — χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν, *that it seemed to me to allow no opportunity nor*
even forethought for personal safety. τῆς δοφαλεῖας belongs gramm. to πρό-
νοιαν, but logically also to χώραν wh. would be followed by the dat. — ἀγ-
πητὸν εἶναι, *one must be content*. The orator means to say that in his opinion
duty to country should in such a crisis overshadow all personal considera-
tions, and one should be thankful if he were able to discharge that duty.

§ 221. ἵπτε = περ : cf. note § 9. — γράφοντ' ἀν : the particc. express
the condition (cf. §§ 30, 190); ἀν to be taken w. the infin. γράψαι, πρᾶξαι,
ποεσθεῖσαι. — μηδὲ, *nor even*. — ἐν πᾶσιν...ἐπαττόν, *in all public affairs I*

constantly made myself the foremost. W. considers the phrase nearly synonymous w. ἔδωκα ἐμαυτῷ in §§ 179, 197, 219.

§ 222. Εἰς ταῦτα, κ. τ. ἐ: the rhetorical order of the Greek may be imitated in Engl.: *This is the condition into which, etc.; this is the utterance which, etc.* — ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους, *he who before this hurled many defiant boasts against the city.* φωνὴν ἐπαιρεῖ, § 291, = *to lift up the voice in loud tones.* — Διάνδας: cf. § 249. Acc. to the author of the *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 848 c, Diondas prosecuted not only the authors of this decree, Demomeles and Hyperides, but also Aristonicus (§ 223). — τὸ μέρος: cf. note § 103. — ἀποφευγότα, *acquitted*, rarely used of *things*.

§ 223. Ἀριστόνικος: cf. note § 83, where the decree of Demom. and Hyper. is taken as a single one, and that of Ctes. is regarded as *third* in order. — συγκατηγόρησεν: the usages of Athenian law-courts permitted the prosecutor to associate w. himself several assistants in making complaint and in carrying on the suit. Cf. Meier and Schöm. *Att. Proc.*, p. 710. — Δημοθλῆ: a cousin of Dem. A. Schaeff., II. 528, conjectures that the crowning proposed by Demom. occurred at the great Dionysia, April, 338 B. C., and that proposed by Hyper. at the Panathenaic festival, August, 338 B. C. I prefer the view of W., that Hyper. was only incidentally connected w. the crowning proposed by Demom. — μᾶλλον...εἰκότες, *more properly than this man*, i. e. Ctes.; simply because it is more fitting to punish the first offence than the second after the first has been passed by unnoticed.

§ 224. τῷδε: refers to Ctes.; ἐκείνους to the persons just mentioned; τοῦτον αὐτὸν to Aesch.; οὗτος to Ctes. again. — ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ', *to refer to* (as a precedent). The force of the prep. remains throughout the sentence. — περὶ τῶν οὐτών πραχθέντων, i. e. legally settled. A suit once decided could not be renewed in an Athenian court of law. But the suit brought by Aesch. was not exactly identical w. that brought by Diondas against Demom. and Hyper.; so that the *spirit* of the law, rather than its letter, is meant, and the argument of Dem. is a *moral* rather than a *legal* one. — τότε, *in that case*; i. e. supposing Aesch. had brought suit in the first instance. — τὸ πρᾶγμα, κ. τ. ἐ, *the real question* (i. e. whether Dem. was deserving of a crown or not) *would have been tried on its own merits, before it had obtained any of these precedents.* These points seem well taken.

§ 225. οἵμαι: ironical. — ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων, κ. τ. ἐ: he means the transactions connected w. the peace of Philocrates. — μήτε...μηδεὶς, st. οὔτε...οὐδεὶς, because there is a shade of uncertainty in the thought, wh. is implied in οἵμαι. — προφάσεις: cf. note § 156. — δοκεῖν τι λέγειν, *to seem to speak to the purpose.* οὐδὲν λέγειν = *to speak to no purpose.*

§ 226. ἐπὶ τῆς διληθείας: cf. note § 17. — μόνον οὐκ = *all but.* — τοὺς...φυγὴν: the same point is made in § 15. — κρίσιν: subj. of ξεσύθαι.

§ 227. περὶ ἡμῶν, i. e. Aesch. and himself. Dem. makes the illustration of his rival apply to them both. This idea is brought out more fully in the sentence : οὐ γὰρ ἀν μεταπείθειν, κ. τ. ἐ., § 228. — περιέναι χρήματά τῷ, that money remains over in the hands of some one. The figure is taken fr. trade or banking business. — καθαιρέσσων, lit. if the pebbles cancel or remove, sc. one's credit of money (*rā χρήματα*); i. e. if accounts balance. This sense of καθαιρέν seems somewhat forced; αἱρέν in the passage cited fr. Aesch. is to be taken in much the same way, and ἀντανελέν (lit. to take up on the opposite side), § 231, has the same sense. Other Editt. except V. read καθαιρεῖ ὅστις, wh. is explained as referring to clearing away the pebbles from the board (cf. ἀβάκιον, Abacus, Dict. Antiq.) in opposite columns of debit and credit, until the whole board is cleared and accounts balance.

§ 228. σοφοῖς, "sapient." Lord B. — ἵπαρχειν ἕγνωσμένους: cf. § 95. οὐ γὰρ ἀν, κ. τ. ἐ., for he would not be seeking to change your mind, if there were not such an opinion as this existing in regard to each of us. Dem. proves himself skilful in retort.

§ 229. τίθεις ψῆφους, by casting up accounts. — οὗτος λογισμός: οὗτος is predicate; for the mode of reckoning public deeds is not this (i. e. the arithmetical, but another).

§ 230. παραταξαμένους: in agreement w. αὐτοῖς supplied fr. Θηβαῖοις and subj. of κωλύειν. — ἐπτακόσια στάδια: cf. note § 195. — τοὺς ληστὰς: cf. note §§ 145, 241. — φέρειν καὶ δηγεῖν = to plunder. — ἐν εἰρήνῃ: anti-thetic position to τὸν πόλεμον. — ἐκ θαλάττης, from the sea reckoning landwards, hence on the side of the sea; referring to the security of the coasts fr. predatory invasions. — λαβόντα, after he should have taken Byzantium; to be taken in close connection w. Philip's conceived (not actual) occupation of the Hellespont.

§ 231. ψῆφους, sc. τῷ τῶν ψῆφων λογισμῷ: the orator doubtless asked this question in a sneering tone: Can the statement of deliverance fr. such threatened calamities be likened to an arithmetical computation of debit and credit? — ή...ἀντανελέν, κ. τ. ἐ., or does it seem to you proper to offset these against each other? Cf. note § 227. Does he mean (1) offset his own good deeds or benefits against the misfortunes that are charged to his administration; as Lord B. expresses it: "Must these events be taken out of the opposite side of my account?" Or (2) offset these benefits just enumerated against the common misfortunes of the country; wh. is the interpretation of Reiske, Wh., Kenn., et al. Or (3) should our deeds be made to cancel each other; are my services to the country to be set over against your misdeeds, so that they mutually cancel, and neither go down to later remembrance? The last interpretation seems most in accordance w. the spirit of the entire passage. In the preceding section Dem. implies that the calamities

wh. were prevented by his policy would have been the legitimate result of his rival's conduct. And we understand this inquiry to be directed, as the one just before, to *Aesch.*, and w. a touch of sarcasm. The thought, then, of the passage is this: when *Aesch.* asks the Athenians to change their opinion respecting Dem. by taking into consideration the debit side of his account, Dem. responds: "let our accounts stand as they are; they are not to be cast up and balanced as trading accounts, and then forgotten." — προστίθημι, *add to the account*; a mercantile term in harmony w. the preceding λογισμός. — ἐν οἷς, *in those cases in which*. — καθάπαξ: cf. § 197. — ἔτεροι means the Phocians and Locrians, also the Thebans after the battle of Chæronea. — τῆς φιλανθρωπίας refers to Philip's generous and kind treatment of the Athenians after the battle of Chæronea. Demades *Fragm.* 1, says: ἔγραψα καὶ Φιλίππῳ τιμᾶς· οὐκ ἀρνοῦμαι. δισχιλίους γὰρ αἰχμαλώτους ἀνευ λύτρων, καὶ χίλια πολιτῶν σώματα χωρὶς κήρυκος, καὶ τὸν Ὄρωπόν ἀνευ πρεσβετελας λαβὼν ὑμῖν ταῦτ' ἔγραψα. Cf. also Polyb., V. 10. — περιβαλλόμενος, *with a view to accomplishing the rest of his purposes*. περιβάλλεσθαι = *to compass or embrace in one's plans*; cf. Isocr. *Panegyr.*, § 184. — καλῶς ποιοῦντες, *happily*; indicating the subjective feeling of the speaker, = *I am happy to say*. The difference between this and καλῶς πράττοντες is clearly shown in Dem. c. *Leptin.*, § 110: δτε δ' ὑμεῖς, καλῶς ποιοῦντες, καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὅμβοιαν καὶ κατὰ τὰλλα πάντα διεισι τέκεινων πράττετε.

§ 232. παραδείγματα πλάττων, *manufacturing illustrations*; such e. g. as that of the ψῆφοι. — ρήματα σχήματα: the former Cic., *Orat.* VIII., understands of the criticism *Aesch.* (§§ 72, 166) made upon several *expressions* used by Dem.; the latter word may refer to the mimicking of certain gestures peculiar to Dem., wh. were, perchance, not altogether in precise keeping (cf. *Aesch.*, § 167) w. the artificial rules of the schools. — πάνυ γάρ, *for altogether in consequence of this—don't you see?—have come about the affairs of the Greeks*. A similar ironical use of οὐχ δρᾶς is found in § 266. — παρήγεκα, *I extended my hand on this side, but not on that side*.

§ 233. ἐπ...εἰκόπει: cf. note § 210. — ἀφορμᾶς, *resources*; particularly *financial*, as distinct fr. *military* (*δυνάμεις*). — ἐπιστᾶς: cf. § 60. — ἐποιησα...ἔδεικνεις: notice the diff. in the tenses: *if I had made...he would (now) point out*. — χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ, *I shall make the statement*; an emphatic paraphrase for λέξω.

§ 234. τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους: when the peace of 346 b. c. was concluded, Athens had control over Peparethos, Proconnesos, Tenedos, Thasos, Sciatbos, in addition to Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, Samos, wh. belonged to her as dependencies. Chios and Rhodes had torn themselves loose in the Social War, 357—355 b. c.; about the same time also occurred the revolt of



Coreyra. — **σένταξιν**: a euphemistic word, whose origin Harpocr. explains: *Ἐλεγον τὸς φόρους συντάξεις, ἐπειδὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἱ Ἑλλῆται τὸ τῶν φόρων δυομα.* Boeckh *Publ. Econ.*, p. 544, surmises that this contribution was subsequently increased (cf. § 237) to as much as 400 talents. Cf. Dem. *Phil.*, IV., § 37 ff. This contribution was made under the new Athenian confederacy formed in 377 B. C. See Grote, X., cap. 77. — **προβελεγμένα, collected in advance, anticipated.** Cf. Dem. *Phil.*, I., § 34. — **διτίτην...Ιππεῖα**: an instance of *asyndeton*. Cf. § 67. — **τῶν οἰκείων, the citizen-soldiery**; the same as *τῶν πολιτικῶν*, § 237, in distinction fr. mercenary troops wh. are meant by *διλίτην, Ιππέα* and *ξένοι* (§ 237). — **φοιτερότατον, sc. την—οὐτοις:** Aesch. and his associates.

§ 235. **τῶς, sc. ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα.** — **προλέγων...βούλευμένος...φέύγων...ὑπέθυνος**: a most lifelike picture of the comparative weakness and strength of a democratic and despotic form of government. Cf. Isocr. *Nicocl.*, § 19. Larned compares Canning's description of Bonaparte's power: "He asks no counsel, he renders no account, he wields at will the population and resources of a mighty empire and its dependent states."

§ 236. **καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' :** the force of *καὶ* = also falls upon *τοῦτ'*, wh. refers by anticipation to *τίτος κύριος ἦν.* — **πρέτον** has no corresponding *citra* expressed; the next point in the enumeration is *δσα...περιγένοντο.* — **οὐ μόνον μετέχον**: his *only* privilege, as compared w. the advantages of Philip, was that of haranguing the people, and this he had to share w. his opponents. — **περιγένοντο, and whatever successes these gained over me;** he means in the discussions and resolutions of the Assembly. — **δι'...ἥν.. πρόφασιν, through whatever pretext each success might chance to arise.** *ἔκαστον* = *τὸ περιγένεσθαι.* With *τίχοι* supply *γιγνόμενον.* — **ταῦθ'...βεβουλευμένοι, these you adopted in favor of the enemy, and then took your departure** (sc. fr. the Assembly).

§ 237. **ἴκ, out of;** i. e. as starting-points. — **Μεγαρέας** is written **Μεγαρῆς**, § 234. — **τῶν πολιτικῶν**: cf. note § 234. — **συντελεαν, joint contribution.** — **δσων...πλειστην**: *δσην* would be the usual constr.; the genit. is due to attraction. A decree found at the close of the *Lives of the Ten Orators* states that this contribution amounted to more than 500 talents.

§ 238. **τὰ...Σίκαια, our just dues as regards the Thebans.** He alludes to the complaints of Aesch. contained in § 143, wh. is cited on p. 85. — **τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους**: cf. note § 95. — **τὰ πρὸς Εὐθοέας**: cf. Aesch., §§ 92, 93. — **τῶν Ισαν:** "τὰ Ισαν hoc loco sunt aequas portiones sumptuum in bellum faciendorum." Schaeff. — **τῶν...τριήρων:** genit. of the whole depending on *τὰς διακοσίας.* — **τριακοσίων:** the whole number of ships at the battle of Salamis is given by Thuc., I. 74, acc. to some MSS., as 300, acc. to other MSS., as 400, of wh. Athens furnished two thirds. Herod., VIII. 48, says there

were 378, and of these 180 were Athenian. — ἀλλαγοῦσθαι, *to be defrauded*. Dem. turns into a meritorious act what Aesch. had censured as an injustice practised upon the city by Thebes, through the venality of Dem.

§ 239. κενάς, κ. τ. & : *you confer upon these* (i. e. the Athenians) *empty favors in calumniating me*; empty, because so entirely useless after all was over. — παρὸν, i. e. in the Assembly, as έγραφε shows. — ἐνδέχετο, *if, indeed, they (raῦτα) admitted of it*, sc. πράττειν ; i. e. if they were practicable. — παρό = διά : *on account of, under the existing circumstances*. Schaef. But the sense seems quite as good if we take it as in παρό αὐτὰ τὰδικῆματα, § 13, = *at the moment of*; implying that the crises were such as to demand instantaneous action, when they had to accept what they could get, without deliberating upon what they might wish to have. — δοῖα τῆσουλόμεθα : the indic. denotes what is definite ; δοίη, the optat., denotes what is indefinite. — καὶ...καὶ, *not only...but also*. — τοὺς...ἀπελαυνομένους : W. takes in a hypothetical sense, and as referring to the Thebans and others who were negotiating for an alliance w. Athena, in case *they should be repulsed* through the exorbitant demands of the Athenians.

§ 240. νῦν, *as the case stands*. — κατηγορίας : the plural, since there were many points embraced in the one formal accusation. — δι adds emphasis to τι and modifies τοιεῖν...λέγειν below, where it is repeated. Cf. G M T. 223, 224; G. 1312. — τούτων, i. e. τὰ πρὸς Θηβαῖον δίκαια in § 238. — ἀκριβολογουμένου : deriv. ? *chuffering, haggling*.

§ 241. οὐχ, sc. δὲ ἔλεγον. — βουλόμενοι refers to the people of the πόλεις above. — εἶτα, *furthermore*; it continues the question in the direct form introduced by οὐχ; the whole is summed up at the close in οὐκ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔλεγον. — τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, κ. τ. & : the calamities wh. in § 230 he named as the impending results of the policy of his rival, the orator here sums up in a different order as likely to be laid to *his* charge by Aesch., had he not prevented them. His enemies now find fault w. the means by wh. he averted the calamities wh. they were preparing; but these very calamities, had they occurred, they would have laid at his door; they were bound to blame him anyhow. — συνοπτής : cf. note § 87. — τῶν ληστῶν : cf. note § 145. — καὶ...γε, *yea...and*.

§ 242. φύσει κίναδος : cf. note § 162. — τάνθρόπιον, *manikin, apology for a man*; the neuter and the diminutive combining to form the contemptuous term. — αὐτογραψικὸς πίθηκος : an allusion, probably, to his extravagant imitations and mimicries on the stage. — ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος : cf. note § 180. — δανότης, *power as an orator, eloquence*. — πατρόθι : for the omission of the art. cf. § 170. — νῦν, *now at last, to-day*; this emphasis belongs to it also in νῦν λέγειν ; § 243.

§ 243. μάτηρ δι εῖ : the ellipsis (cf. § 194) is somewhat as follows: *to do*

so is just as absurd as it would be (*ἄστερ δὲ εἰ*) if, etc. — *ἀσθενοῦσι*, κ. τ. ἐ., visiting his patients in the course of their sickness. On the parallel passage in Aesch. given below, see Introduction, p. xv. — *τὰ νομιζόμενα*, the customary rites were being performed over him. — *τὸ καὶ τὸ*, this and that, so and so; an instance of the original demonstrative use of the article — *ἀνθρώπος*: Bekk.'s emendation for *ἀνθρώπος* of the MSS., on the ground that the art. is needed w. the demonstr. pronoun. — *έλτα νῦν*, do you then now at last (when all is over) speak?

§ 244. *τοινύν* marks the conclusion. — *τὴν γῆταν*: at Chæronea. — *παρ'* ἔμοι, in my power. — *ὅτι οἱ ἐπέμβηται*: the indic. emphasizes the *actual* fact, while *τεμφθείη*, § 45, states the fact indefinitely. — *οὐκ...οὐκ...οὐκ...οὐ*...*οὐκ...οὐκ...οὐ*: a marked instance of *asyndeton*, adding much emphasis to the expression. — *Θεραλλαῖς*: of these embassies little is known besides what is said in this oration and in the Third Philippic. The Theban has been described in § 211 ff.; that to Byzantium, in § 88. *The kings of the Thracians* were Teres and Cersobleptes. The latter Aesch., § 61, mentions as *ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον τὴν πόλει*. — *ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν*: Dem. also went on a similar embassy to the Peloponn. states. Cf. § 79 and note § 45. — *ἄλλ' ἐν οἷς*, κ. τ. ἐ., but where his ambassadors were vanquished in argument, he came with arms and carried the day. Kenn.

§ 245. *μαλακίαν σκόπτειν*, scoffing at the same man for cowardice. In allusion to the charge of Aesch. that he had fled fr. his post on the field of battle. This story, first found in Aesch., grew as it was repeated, until in the *Lives of the Ten Orators*, p. 845, it is narrated as a fact, that Dem., as he was fleeing fr. the battle-field, became entangled in a bramble-bush, and panic-stricken turned to the bush, saying: “Spare my life and take me prisoner!” Against this charge the orator finds a sufficient defence in this and the succeeding sections. — *τῆς...ψυχῆς*: commentators are uncertain whether to take this as *courage*, *temper*, or as *life*.

§ 246. *πᾶσαν ἀξίαν*, a full examination. — *οὐ παραιτοῦμαι*: I do not beg off. — *πέπρακται*: Grote, XI. 121, remarks upon this claim of Dem.: “The first Philippic is alone sufficient to prove, how justly Dem. lays claim to the merit of having ‘seen events in their beginnings’ and given timely warning to his countrymen.” — *πολιτικὰ = οἰκεῖα*; which are inherent and unavoidable defects belonging to all popular governments. *πόλεις* is used here in the sense of *πολιτεῖα*. Cf. Isocr. *Nicocl.*, § 17 ff., for a comparison between democratic and monarchical government. — *ὡς*: separated fr. the superlative by a prep. Cf. § 288. — *προγρέψαι*, sc. *τὰς πόλεις*. — *οὐδεὶς μὴ εἴρη = οὐ μὴ τις εἴρη*. For οὐ μή w. subj. cf. G M T. 294, 295; H. 1032; G. 1360; Cu. § 620.

§ 247. *τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφέρειν*, by promises and bribes to those in power.

Cf. note § 45. — τῶν καὶ ταῦτα πραχθέντων, of the deeds done in this department; i. e. as κύριος and ἡγεμὼν τῶν δυνάμεων. — τῷ δ. αὐθαρῆναι, in the matter of being bribed by money or not. τῷ διαφθ. is dat. respect. — δώνυμος, the bidder. — τὸ καὶ ἐμὲ: the logic is clear: by two means Philip conquered, sc. arms and bribery. But with arms I had nothing to do, and as to bribery, I proved myself incorruptible; ergo, the defeat of the city is chargeable to me neither in this nor in that.

IV. §§ 248–290. DEMOSTHENES DEFENDS HIS POLICY AGAINST THE CHARGE OF BEING UNFORTUNATE; COMPARES THE FORTUNE OF ATHENS WITH THAT OF OTHER STATES, AND HIS OWN FORTUNE WITH THAT OF AESCHINES; AND FINALLY APPEALS FOR VINDICATION OF HIS POLICY TO THE INDORSEMENT OF THE PEOPLE AFTER THE BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA.
 'Α μὲν: relat. clause precedes for the sake of emphasis. — τοῦτον: Ctesiphon.
 ταῦτα: wh. have been enumerated. — ἄμεις, sc. παρέσχεσθε εἰς τὸ, κ. τ. ἐ.
 — τὴν μάχην: of Chæronea. — θαυμαστὸν ἦν, when it would not have been at all surprising, if the multitude had become disaffected towards me. For θαυμαστὸν ἦν cf. note on ἔξηρκει, § 196. — πρότον μὲν: fearing an immediate attack fr. Philip, the Athenians placed their city in a state of defence w. all possible speed. Read the graphic account given by Lycurgus in his speech against Leocrates, §§ 39–44, of the state of feeling at Athens in consequence of the defeat at Chæronea. — πάνθ'...διὸ τῶν ἐμῶν ψ.: an inexcusable exaggeration. The proposal to place the Peiræus in a state of defence, to make the Metics citizens, to set free a portion of the slaves, to restore to citizenship those who had lost their political rights, to bring the women and children to the Peiræus for safety, was made by Hyperides the orator. — τὰ εἰς τὰ τελήνη χρ.: the hasty and tumultuous preparations of defence described by Lycurg. l. c. are meant, for wh. a special contribution seems to have been made. Cf. §§ 171, 312. — σιτώνην, grain commissioner. Special commissions were appointed in time of war and of unusual scarcity to procure an extra importation of grain.

§ 249. μερὶς ταῦτα: when the excitement had died away, and Philip had announced through Demades his friendly intentions. — συστάντων: without the art. to make it indefinite. — γράφεις, sc. παρανόμων, as appears fr. ἔννομα γράφειν in § 250. — εθίνας, complaints for maladministration. — εἰσαγγελίας: cf. note § 13. — τό γε πρότον, at first; the emphasis of γε indicates that they did later. The leaders of the Macedonian faction had to move cautiously, as there was still strong sympathy w. Dem. among the people. — ἀκρινόμην, I was brought to trial. — Σωσικλέους: nothing further than what is here mentioned is known of him nor of Μέλαντος. — Φιλοκράτους: not the same person as the one mentioned in § 21, but of Eleusis. — Διανδούς: cf. § 222. — τοίνυν resumes the thought interrupted by the

long parenthesis. — τοῦτο, i. e. τὸ δικαῖως ἐμὲ σωθῆναι. — γνώντας τὰ εὐρκά, gave a verdict in accordance with their oath.

§ 250. τὸ μέρος: cf. § 103. — ἔπειτα μενεύει, you were indorsing; lit. setting the seal upon, spoken of the logistæ. The force of the impf. in all these verbs must not be overlooked. — οὐχ δ...τιθέμενον, not that (name) which he saw the people affixing. — δῆμον...δικαιοτάς...ἀλήθεαν: correspond in their order to the different kinds of trial referred to by Dem. above; thus, the εἰσαγγελία was tried before the demus, the γραφὴ παραθυρῶν before the dicasts, and the εἰθύη before the logistæ where the trial was an issue of fact.

§ 251. τοῦ Κεφάλου: a statesman who flourished at the time of the restoration of the democracy under Thrasybulus. He was instrumental in uniting Thebes and Athens during the Corinthian war. — τὸ...φεύγειν, but it was the honor of Cephalus that he was never indicted. — μᾶλλον, sc. διὰ τοῦτο: the sense is: why should a man who has never been convicted, but often been tried, on this account be held in reproach more justly than the man who has never been on trial? — πρός γε τοῦτον, as far as this man (Æsch.) is concerned. — ἤγραψε...βιβλεῖ: the former verb denotes the act of bringing in the bill, the latter that of carrying it through the court. — μηδέν, st. οὐδέν, because it is as the acknowledgment of Æsch. (not as the absolute fact) that he is in no respect a worse citizen. For the form of the neg. cf. G M T. 685.

§ 252. ἔγώ...ἡγούμα...ἐτέρῳ: this sentence passed into a proverb, and is found in the Florilegium of Stobæus. — ήν γάρ: the relat. precedes the antecedent ταῦτη. By beginning the transl. w. πῶς χρή, κ. τ. ἐ., the student will make a clearer Engl. sentence. — χρήται τῷ λόγῳ: cf. § 233. — Δινθρεπινάτερον: the sense is with a more just notion of human life.

§ 253. Δωδαναῖον: the oracle of Zeus at Dodona was the most venerable of all the Greek oracles, although long ago superseded in influence by that of Apollo at Delphi. It may be that the orator purposely passes the Delphic oracle by from a suspicion of its truthfulness and patriotism, — a suspicion attributed to him by Æsch. in the words φιλιππίζειν τὴν Πυθαρά φάσκων. — ή νῦν ἐπέχει, which now prevails. — τίς γάρ...πεπεράσατ: at this time Thebes was in ruins, the recent uprising against Macedon in the Peloponnesus had been quelled by Antipater, and Alexander was in the midst of his conquests in Asia.

§ 254. τὸ...ἄμεινον πράττειν, and to fare better than. — διάξειν: in direct discourse the sentence would be: ἐὰν προώμεθα...διάξομεν. — τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης: partit. genit. Athens, though under the Macedonian yoke w. the rest of the Greek states, preserved its independence in affairs of home government much better than those Peloponnesian states (*τῶν οἰνθέντων...διάξειν*) that had stood aloof fr. the struggle against Philip. —

τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι, and that there were reverses; the sentence is the obj. of μετειληφέναι, wh., like μεταδίδωμι and μετέχω, may be followed by the accus. as well as by the partit. genit.— τὸ μέρος: in appos. w. the preceding infinitives; as that portion of the fortune of the rest of mankind which has been allotted to us.

§ 255. Ιδεαν...ἐν τοῖς ιδίοις, personal...in personal affairs; not in public matters. This is in reply to the charge of Aesch. that the misfortunes of the state were partly due to the ill-starred fortune of Dem.— ὅμιν, sc. δοκεῖν fr. δοκῶ. Inferior MSS. add συνδοκεῖν. — δὲ, in contrast w. ἐγώ μὲν.— κυριωτέραν, paramount to; i. e. more effective for weal or woe.

§ 256. πάντος, altogether, at any rate; modifies the idea of προαιρεῖσθαι.— μου πρὸς Διὸς: the same order is found in § 199. — ψυχρότητα, folly, Lord B.; bad taste, Kenn.; coldness, indifference, L. and Sc.; ungenerous feeling is the excellent rendering of Holmes, who explains the word as denoting “a lack of that human warmth of heart and sympathy which would naturally produce great tenderness of word and deed towards the unfortunate.” — προπηλακίζει: cf. προπηλακισμὸν, § 12. — ἀναγκάζομαι: the orator makes the same excuse in § 126. — ἐκ τῶν ἔνοντων, under the existing circumstances; lit. out of the things possible, i. e. as material.

§ 257. τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, it was my lot to attend respectable schools when I was a boy; in distinction fr. the schools attended by his rival. A Greek school education, as described by Plato *Protag.*, p. 325, consisted of (1) γράμματα = language spoken and written; (2) literature, or the study of authors; (3) music, including rhythm; (4) εὐκοσμία = good principles and proper behavior. Before τὰ προσήκοντα all MSS. except Σ and L. have μὲν ὅντι φοιτᾶν εἰς = to attend upon; this reading may have arisen fr. the desire to obviate the harshness of the constr. that joins ὅπῃρχει first w. a subst. and then w. an infin. (ξειν). — δοτα...τίθεσθαι: the father of Dem. left property to the value of 14 talents. How dishonestly this estate was administered by the guardians of Dem., so that but a small fraction of it fell to him as inheritance, we learn fr. his speech against *Aphobus*, I., §§ 4–11. — ξελθόντι, i. e. when he became an ἐφῆβος. — ἀκόλουθα τούτοις, in keeping with these (my) circumstances. — χορηγεῖν, to act as choragus. See Dict. Antiq. Dem. is known to have been choragus in 350 B. C., when the difficulty w. Midias occurred. Cf. *Orat. c. Mid.*, § 13. — τριηραρχεῖν: cf. note § 102. The duties of *trierarch* were performed by Dem. several times: once in the Eubœan war (357 B. C.); cf. § 99. His guardians had him enrolled in the *first class*, and he was for 10 years ἡγεμῶν συμμορias. Cf. §§ 102, 103. — εισφέρειν, to contribute. Notum est dici de tributo extraordinario ad belli necessitates. Diss. — φιλοτιμίας,

acts of liberality, Kenn.; *Freigebigkeit*, Jacobs. Two such *acts of generosity* are alluded to in § 268. — **τρὸς τὰ κοινὰ** = upon public life. — **πολλάκις ἐστεφανῶσθαι**: cf. §§ 83, 120, 222. — **καλά γ', honorable at least**; however disastrous the result may have been. “Dem. never forgets his leading distinctions.” LARNED.

§ 258. **Δν ἔχων** = **Δν ἔχοιμ**: cf. note § 96. The partic. w. concessive force occurs without **Δν** in §§ 138, 264. — **φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπήσαλ** = **φυλ. μὴ λυπήσω**. Cf. G M T. 374. — **σεμνύνομαι**: here used w. **ἔτ**, but in § 259 w. **ἐπί**. The antec. of **οἰς** may be understood as **τοῖς πράγμασι**. — **σεμνυνόμενος**: this word is repeated w. a certain degree of bitterness. — **ποιὰ τινὶ**, what sort of *a*; the addition of **τις** adds to the indefiniteness of the question. W. remarks that this entire passage now following, as well as that contained in § 129, is to be regarded as the revenge of Dem. for his rival's similar attack upon him. (Cf. Aesch., § 171 ff.) We could wish that the orator's revenge had been, instead of this, a dignified and contemptuous silence. — **τρίβων**: the ink was probably prepared, like our India ink, by rubbing from a cake. — **οἰκέτου, κ. τ. έ.**, having the rank of a menial, not of a gentleman's son.

§ 259. **τελούστη**, *engaged in the rites of initiation*. The allusion is to the celebration of Orphic-Bacchic mysteries of Phrygian origin, wh., though under the public ban, had gained at that time considerable foothold in Greece, owing to the prevalent taste for semi-religious excesses. The deity who was worshipped in these rites was Sabazius or Sabadius, the son of Rhea or Cybele, who in later times was identified w. Dionysus Sabazius. Cf. Aristoph. *Av.*, 875. — **βίβλους**: Plato *Republ.*, II. 7, speaks of the large number and extensive influence of soothsayers and priests, who carried about with them *volumes of oracular sayings* and formulæ of consecration, wh. they pretended came from Orpheus and Museus. — **νεψρίζων**, *wrapping in fawn-skins* (sc. the novitiates). — **κρατηρίζων** is defined by Phot. *Lex.* as **οἷον ἀπὸ κρατήρων ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις σπένδων**. — **ἀπομάττων** is explained by Wyttensbach (ad Plut. *de Superstit.*, p. 166) as follows: “*Lustrationis pars erat ut corpus lustrandum circumlineretur et quasi circumpinseretur imprimis luto [πηλῷ], tum abstergeretur [πιτύροις], quorum illud est περιμάττειν hoc ἀπομάττειν, sed utrumque promiscue de tota lustratione dicitur.* — **ἀνιστὰς**: the candidate seems to have been in a lying or sitting posture during the process of purification. Cf. Aristoph. *Nub.*, 255. — **ἴφυγον, κ. τ. έ.**: a formula wh. signified that one had passed into a new life. It was used also in certain nuptial ceremonies.

§ 260. **φθέγγεσθαι μέγα**: Aesch. seems to have had good lungs and a fine voice, wh., if we may credit Dem. (cf. §§ 280, 285, 313), he used not without ostentation. — **καλοὺς**: ironical. — **τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ**: the



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fennel plant possessed the property of charming serpents; the *white poplar* was believed to grow in Hades, and served as a symbol of life and death. Harpocr. *Lex.* says that those initiated in the Bacchic mysteries were crowned w. the white poplar, because Dionysus was a θεός χθόνιος. — τοὺς παρέλας, squeezing the puffy-cheeked snakes; so called fr. their large puffy cheeks (*παρέλα*); they were thought to be harmless. Cf. *Etym. Magn.*, 653; Aristoph. *Plut.*, 690. The use of serpents in the Bacchic services is alluded to also by Eurip. *Bacch.*, 697. — εὖσι σαβοῖ, *Euoi Saboi!* a Bacchic exclamation, whose origin grammarians give variously: εὖσι fr. εὖ ol., εὖ σοι, εὖ ol. (μύσται), εὖ νιέ; σαβοῖ fr. σαβός (= βάκχος) = one who has been initiated into the mystery of Σαβάξιος, the Phrygian βάκχος. — ὅης ἀττῆς, *Hyes Attes!* ὅης is generally taken as simply an exclamation w. ἀττῆς, and ἀττῆς as an equivalent of Σαβάξιος. The name "Αττῆς" is found in Pausan., VII. 17, § 5. The whole is supposed to be the opening or the refrain of a Bacchic street chorus, that was accompanied by dances and contortions of the body. — *Ειρήχος*, leader of the choir, chorister. — *προηγεμών*, leader of the procession, marshal. — *κιστοφόρος*, adorned with ivy; Attic for *κισσοφόρος*. The ivy was sacred to Dionysus. This is the MSS. reading; but Reiske, Bekk., Taylor, and others follow Harpocr., Suid., Phot., and read *κιστοφόρος* = bearer of the chest (wh. contained the sacred utensils). V. contends that it is improbable that the same person should be both *κιστοφόρος* and *λικνοφόρος* if they mean different things, and that both words should be used if they mean the same thing. — *ἐνθυπίτα*, sops; acc. to Photius they were bits of bread sopped in wine and sprinkled over w. pulse. — *στρεπτούς*, twists (*στρέψω*). — *νεήλατα* were, acc. to Harpocr., fresh-ground barley-cakes dipped in honey and studded w. raisins and chick-peas.

§ 261. *διπωσδήποτε* = *quocumque modo*; implying that it was in a way anything but creditable. Cf. note § 130. The enrolment in the register of citizens was made at the expiration of the 17th year of one's age. — *γραμματεύειν*: cf. §§ 162, 209. — τοὺς ἀρχιδίοις, the petty officials. — *ἀπηλάγης*: by the choice of this word he wishes to imply that it was a hard and disagreeable service to wh. Aesch. had been bound. — *τῷ...βίῳ*, by your subsequent career.

§ 262. *τοῖς βαρυστόνοις*, nicknamed the groaners; probably fr. their ridiculous overacting of the pathetic. — *Σιμόλω*: Demochares in *Vita Aesch.*, p. 246, mentions the fact that Aesch. wandered w. these strolling players through the land and appeared on "the provincial boards" in the celebration of the rural Dionysia. — *ἐτριταγωνίστες*: cf. § 129. — *συλλέγων*, gathering from the orchards of others, just as a fruit-huckster. The country Dionysia occurred at the time of the vintage. Aesch. is represented here. acc. to

one view, as going about the country gathering up fruit, either as a thief or as a beggar ; acc. to another view, as picking up fr. the stage the fruit w. wh. the audience pelted him and his associates for their poor acting. If the latter view is correct, it is difficult to see what ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρ. χ. refers to, since it is wholly superfluous w. διπλώνησ. — πλειον λαμβάνων : the sense is obscure. Most critics understand these words to mean that Aesch. harvest of fruit was greater than his earnings as an actor, τῶν ἀγάνων referring to the *dramatic contests in which you (the actors) were engaged at the peril of your life*. By taking ἀγάνων to refer to contests between the spectators and the actors the gloss τραύματα after τούτων, wh. is omitted by Σ alone, crept into the text. Others understand the allusion to be to the blows received by him as a vagrant in the orchards. But Dem. would not say : "you received more blows from this calling than from your acting," when he states immediately afterward that they acted at the peril of their life. Professor Tyler seems to combine the two interpretations, as if the orator used an intentional ambiguity : "the result was that they got more (both kicks and coffers) in this way, than from acting in the plays." — δεσπόδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος : in explanation of περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. The war was *without truce*, i. e. *unceasing*; and *without herald*, i. e. *implacable*. Cf. Xen. *Anab.*, III. 3. 5. — τραύματ' alludes to the showers of stones, fruit, and other missiles sent by the audience for his wretched acting. This is more fully described by Dem. in *de F. L.*, § 337 : δτε μὲν τὰ θυέστου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ κακὰ ἡγωνίζετο, ἔξεβάλλεται αὐτὸν καὶ ἔξεσυρττεται ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων καὶ μόνον οὐ κατελεύεται οὕτως ὥστε τελευτῶντα τοῦ τριταγωνιστῶν ἀποστῆται. — ὡς δελόντος : with reference to the reproach of cowardice that Aesch. brings repeatedly against him.

§ 263. ἀλλὰ γαρ : cf. § 211 and note. — πρὸς αὐτὸν...κατηγορήματα, *I shall proceed to consider step by step the actual charges against your character.* — ποτε, *at last*; "continuing the taunt that Aesch. was long excluded fr. political life by his low origin and occupations." HOLMES. — λαγὰ βίον ξῆς, *you led the life of a hare*; a proverbial expression for a life of anxious fear and timidity.

§ 264. χιλίων...ἀποθανόντων : Lycurg. c. *Leocr.*, § 142, and Diod., XVI. 88, state that a thousand Athenians fell in the battle of Chaeronea, and that two thousand were taken prisoners. — τῶν ζώντων contains an implied contrast to ἀποθανόντων. — ἀν δεῖξαιμι : potent. optat.; cf. note on ἀν ξοι, § 16. — εὐχερῶς, *recklessly*. — δσα...ἰστων : how diff. fr. δσα ἀν γ; Cf. G M T. 525; H. 914; G. 1430.

§ 265. τὰ σοι κάμοι βεβιωμένα, lit. *the things lived by you and by me*. Cf. § 130. — εἰδίδασκες...πατρίδος : this passage was regarded by the ancient rhetoricians as a model of antithesis. But Demetrius *de Elocut.*, § 250, finds

fault w. the number of balanced sentences ; he thinks the effect of the contrast is weakened by so many antithetic parts, and the entire passage shows more artifice than earnestness. In sharp and severe outline Dem. sums up the career of his rival in its five leading points : (1) as assistant to a pedagogue (§ 258); (2) as helper in the initiations (§§ 259, 260); (3) as clerk (§ 261); (4) as actor (§ 262); (5) as statesman (§ 263). Most Editt. have ἔχορευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἔχορτηγον after ἑτελούμην ; but this sentence is found neither in Σ., L., nor in the oldest rhetoricians. — ἑτελει...ἑτελούμην : the antithesis becomes clear when we understand ἑτελεις of the disreputable Sabazian mysteries and ἑτελούμην of the sacred Eleusinian mysteries. Kenn. quotes fr. Milton's *Apology for Smectymnuus* the following imitation : "Speaking of the young divines and students at college, whom he had so often seen upon the stage acting before courtiers and court ladies, he (Milton) proceeds thus : 'There while they acted and overacted, among other young scholars I was a spectator ; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools ; they made sport, and I laughed ; they mispronounced, and I mimicked ; and, to make up the Atticism, they were out, and I hissed.' "

§ 266. τὸ δὲ...ἀνωμολόγημα, and it has been admitted that I have done no wrong whatever. τὸ ἀδίκειν is the accus. retained w. the pass. constr. — συκοφάντη : for the constr. cf. note on τοιούτοις, § 128. — κινδυνεύεις, κ. τ. ἐ, and you are in danger either of being obliged to continue to do this (i. e. act the part of slanderer, since Aesch. to be consistent must play his rôle to the end, must not stop, therefore, with gaining this suit) or of being forthwith silenced, by losing this suit. Thus, the orator means to say, Aesch. must be in either case the loser. — τὸ πέμπτον : cf. note § 103. — ἀγαθῆ γε : notice the ironical force of γε. — οὐδὲ δρῆς : cf. § 232. — τῆς ἐμῆς : the comm. reading adds ως φαῦλης, wh., as Voem. justly remarks, weakens the force of the sentence, for no one τύχης κατηγορεῖ ως ἀγαθῆς.

§ 267. τῶν λειτουργῶν : such as are enumerated in § 257. — ἀναγνῶ, let me read, although below he says λέγε ; but it is well known that what one orders another to do, he may be said to do himself. — μοι = I pray thee ; the ethical dat. Cf. note § 178. — θλυματίνου, used to murder. Cf. § 180. We speak of murdering the king's English. — ἥκω...ἥλας : the beginning of the Hecuba of Euripides. πόλας is governed by λιπών in the next verse, wh. reads : λιπών, i. e. "Ἄσθης χωρὶς φισται θεῶν. Aesch. had personated in this play the shade of Polydorus as *tritagonist*. — κακαγγελεῖν is an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. This iambic verse is from an unknown tragedy. — κακὸν κακῶς : an instance of paronomasia ; cf. § 11, and the Latin *malos male perdere*.

§ 268. τοιοῦτος, sc. ἦν ἐγώ. — κοντὸς, sc. εἰμι, I am public-spirited. A similar omission of the first pers. of this verb occurs in Dem. *Lept.*, § 55,

where ἔσμεν is to be supplied. — θλυσάμην : Dem., acc. to *de F. L.*, § 169 ff., ransomed a number of Athenians who had been taken prisoners in the Olynthian war. — συνεξέδωκα, joined with any (sc. the poorer of the citizens) in portioning their daughters. Every bride must bring her husband a marriage dower; the poor obtained it by the generous contributions of their richer friends. — οὗτε...οὐδέτε, join w. διεπομένη. In this category might be placed contributions to defray burial expenses, and to buy military outfits for the poor.

§ 269. ἐγα...τῷ δινεδίζειν : the same just sentiment is given by Cic. *de Amicit.*, XX. 71, as follows: "Odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobantium, quae meminisse debet is in quem collata sunt, non commemorare qui contulit." — παιήσαντα, sc. εὖ, wh. is found in most MSS. — τὸν μὲν means τὸν εὖ παθόντα; τὸν δὲ refers to τὸν παιήσαντα. — μικροδι...δινεδίζειν, is almost like reproaching one. — προαχθήσομαι, sc. ποιεῖν. — διπος τούτῳ, κ. τ. ἐ., but in whatever way I have been regarded as respects these things, I am content.

§§ 270, 271. ἀπαλλαγεῖς, having escaped from; as if from some unpleasant thing. Cf. ἀπηλλάγη, § 261. — ἥπο τοῦτον τὸν ἡλιον, i. e. the world of the Greeks. — ἀθέφος, unscathed by. — νῦν, i. e. in the year 331–330 B. C. Cf. note § 253. — τὴν ἀπῆν...βούλει : a similar turn of expression is found in § 20. — πάντων αἰτίαν : αἰτίαν is not found in Σ, and is, therefore, rejected by V. and W. But this word seems necessary to the sense. Dem. is refuting the notion, so persistently declared by his rival, that his personal fortune was answerable for the misfortunes of the country, and his argument runs thus: you cannot name any one who has not been injured by Philip or Alexander; but among those who have been thus injured there are many who have never seen me nor heard my voice. Can I be the cause of their misfortunes? How much more just, then, is it to say that our misfortunes and theirs are attributable to a common cause (sc. τῷ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων τίχην καὶ φορά τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπήν), than to call my fortune the cause of all, i. e. of all the evil that has come upon the Greeks and Barbarians. Voem. and West. render: *I concede that my fortune, whether you please to call it good or ill, has become the fortune of all (men).* But how that follows fr. the supposition εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις, κ. τ. ἐ., I do not see. — φορά τινα...οὐχ οἷαν θεῖ, a certain irresistible and deplorable tide of troubles. Some take φορά here in the sense of crop or harvest, as in § 61.

§ 272. παρὰ τούτοις, among these; i. e. my fellow-citizens, as distinguished fr. πολλοὶ τῶν μηδεπάτοι' ἰδόντων, κ. τ. ἐ., above. — καὶ εἰ μή, even if not. — αὐτοκράτωρ, e. g. like Philip. Cf. § 235.

§ 273. ἀεὶ...προύτιθα σκοπεῖν, and at all times the city proffered the opportunity in common (sc. to all) to consider her advantage. — πᾶσι...βελτίου :

this taunt is not fair. *Æsch.* and his party were outvoted and had to submit to what they could not prevent ; their approbation they did not give. — *ταῦτ' :* the measures proposed by Dem. — *οὐ γάρ ἐπ' εἰνολα, κ. τ. ἐ,* for it was not out of good-will, certainly, that you relinquished to me, etc.; i. e. you did not give up these in order that I might have them. — *Ἐπιθέων, hopes, prospects of reward.* — *ἡττώμενος, because you were compelled.* — *λέγειν βελτίω :* cf. *εἰπεῖν βελτίων* above. This change of tense and number gives variety. Which of these forms of expression has more reference to the nature and contents of the action ? — *νῦν ἔγκαλον...τότ' οὐκ εἶχε :* how and where has the orator made this point before ? Cf. §§ 188, 196, 217. It is the characteristic of a good orator to impress an important point by frequent yet ever-varying repetition.

§ 274. *ἴγαν', I for my part see* ; however oblivious of these principles my opponent may be. — *πῶς τὸ τοιάντα, such principles as these somehow defined and laid down.* — *ἀδικεῖ τις ἑκάν :* former examples of this hypothetical form of statement are found in §§ 117, 198. — *δργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν ...συγγνώμην, sc. διωρισμένας δρῶ.* — *οὐτ' ἀδικῶν τις, κ. τ. ἐ :* transl. in this order : *τις...δοὺς...οὐ κατώρθωσε...οὐτ'...οὐτ'.* The particc. *ἀδικῶν, ἔξαμαρτάνων* are placed at the beginning so as to connect this *third* category more closely w. the *two* preceding. — *οὐ κατώρθωσε, failed in common with all.* On the distinction between *ἀτυχήματα, ἀμαρτήματα, ἀδικήματα*, cf. Aristot. *Rhet.*, I. 13. — *τῷ τοιόντῳ :* the addition of the art. makes the reference more specific = *such an one as this.*

§ 275. *τοῖς νόμοις, from the laws.* The distinction between *νόμοι* and *νόμμοι* may be stated thus : *νόμος* = a positive, definite law or ordinance, generally written ; *νόμμος* = a principle or rule that is founded upon custom or upon the moral sense of every human being. Cf. Soph. *Antig.*, 451 : *οἱ τούς ἐν ἀνθρώπουσιν ὥρισαν νόμους.* οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσοῦτον φόμην τὰ σὰ κηρύγματα ὡς τὰ δύρακτα καὶ ἀσφαλῆ θεῶν νόμμα. Cf. also Plato *Legg.*, VII., p. 793 ; Dem. c. *Aristocr.*, § 70. — *ἥθεστι :* cf. note § 114. — *ἀτυχημάτων :* misfortunes he imputes to me as crimes.

§ 276. *ὅτις μὴ παρακρούσθομαι* : for the node cf. G M T. 370 ; H. 887 a ; G. 1379 ; Cu. § 533, Obs. — *δεινὸν, skilful* as a speaker, hence *eloquent.* So *δεινότητα* below = *eloquence.* *Æsch.* had named Dem. *κακούργον σοφιστὴν* · *τὸν γένητα καὶ βαλαντιστήμων καὶ διατεμηκτα τὴν πολιτείαν* · *δεινὸς δημουργὸς λέγων.* — *ὡς ἔαν...οὕτως ἔχοντα, as though when, etc.,...then these statements must also be true.* For the constr. cf. § 122.

§ 277. *τὴν...δεινότητα* : another instance of *apostrophe* ; cf. §§ 3, 22. The thought thus interrupted is resumed w. the words *εἰ δ' οὖν...ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη.* — *ἴστω γάρ, nay, be it so.* Let it pass that I am an orator ; this imputation is, after all, a kind of proof that I am in sympathy w. the

public; ὡς γὰρ...ἀποδέξησθε, κ. τ. ἐ. — τὸ πλεῖστον, for the most part, generally. Some MSS. insert μέρος. — ὡς γὰρ...ἀποδέξησθε, for, according as you may receive and feel kindly towards each. For the subj. w. δι cf. G M T. 532; H. 914 B; G. 1431; Cu. § 554. — οἵσοις: why the aor.? Cf. G M T. 533; H. 840; G. 1394; Cu. § 494. This sentiment, that the audience controls the speaker, not the speaker the audience, is stated negatively in the *de F. L.*, § 340: "Other powers are tolerably independent, but that of speaking is reduced to nothing when you who hear are opposed." The same important truth has been dwelt upon by all rhetoricians fr. Aristotle to Whately.—παρ' ἑμοὶ: cf. § 110: παρ' ἔκαστῳ τὸ συνειδός ὑπάρχειν μοι. — οὐδὲ ιδίᾳ, not even for my personal interest. — τούναντίον, sc. εὐρήσετε ἔξεταζομένην. — τούτων: to be referred back to the collective τις, as in § 99.

§ 278. εἰσεληνθότας, sc. τὸ δικαστήρια. — ἀξιοῦν αὐτῷ βεβαιοῦν, to require to secure to himself; i. e. by condemning his opponent. — εἰσέναι, nor ought he to come before you, as a prosecutor. — πράως...ἔχειν, to have them (i. e. these feelings) mildly and moderately disposed. — τὸν πολιτευόμενον...τὸν φήτορα: the former is one that takes an active part in public affairs, the latter more distinctively a speaker and advocate in the public assemblies. For the repetition of the art. (*τὸν*) cf. note § 212. — ἐν οἷς...τῷ δῆμῳ, et in quibus populo res est cum adversariis. The full expression in Greek would be ἐν τούτοις ἡ πρὸς, κ. τ. ἐ. Cf. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, § 235; Isocr. *Panegyr.*, § 12: ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τοιούτους...ἔστιν.

§ 279. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδικήματος...δίκην: here Dem. briefly reiterates the points more fully treated in §§ 12–16. — ἡκειν: subj. of ἔστι σημεῖον. The art. (*τὸ*) is used w. this infin. below. — συνεσκενασμένον, having concocted. — οὐδενὸς: neuter. — ἡμὲ αὐτὸν, more emphatic than ἔμαντεν, me myself. — ἐπὶ τόνδ', i. e. Ctesiphon. — καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχει κακῶν, involves even the sum of all baseness. Most MSS. omit καὶ, and then νῦν...κακῶν forms a pentameter.

§ 280. λόγων...πιμορίαν: for the same topic cf. § 226. — φωνασκία: Esch. practice in elocution and his fine voice are derided also in § 308. And in *de F. L.*, § 336, Dem. says: ἐπαρεῖ τὴν φωνὴν καὶ πεφωνασκηκώς ἔσται. All this is by way of retort upon Esch., who in *de F. L.*, § 157, speaks of Dem. voice as δέειαν καὶ ἀνθειον. Yet how much pains Dem. took to cultivate his voice and delivery, Quintilian mentions, *Orat. Instit.*, XI., Chap. III., §§ 53, 130. — βουλόμενος: as indicating the motive. — τίμον, the thing to be valued. — τόνος (*τείνω*), the pitch of the voice. Cf. ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν, § 291. — θν ἡ πατρίς, sc. μισῆ καὶ φιλῆ.

§ 281. ἐπ' εὐνοϊᾳ, based upon good-will. — ἐπὶ τῇσι αὐτῇσι, sc. ἀγκύρας, he is not moored by the same anchor as the multitude. A common metaphor. So ἐπὶ δυοῖς ὅρμεῖν = to have separate interests. — οἴκουν, κ. τ. ἐ.: completes

the thought of the metaphor. — ἔξαρτος...τοιον, *nothing separate* (from the public) *nor personal* (as opposed to public interests).

§ 282. εἰδίως...ἔπορεύον : immediately after the battle of Chæronea an embassy went fr. Athens to Philip, to treat for the release of the prisoners of war. At the head of this embassy was Demades (cf. § 285). His associates were Aesch. and Phocion. Cf. Grote, Chap. XC.; Plut. *Phoc.*, 16. — δε refers to Philip. — πάγκη χρόνον : taken literally, this is an exaggeration, since Aesch. went on two embassies concerning the peace of Philocrates; he is to be understood, therefore (and doubtless he was so understood by his audience), as meaning *all the former time* since 346 B. C. — ταῦτην τὴν χρέαν, *although he refused this service* (i. e. of going on an embassy to Philip). — καταράται : at the opening of each Assembly it was customary for the crier or herald to imprecate curses on the enemies of the state, and more particularly on those who plotted to overthrow the democracy and were bribed to betray their country into the hands of foreign foes. Cf. Schöm. *de Comit. Athen.*, p. 92. Cf. § 130. — οὐνος = τοιοθεος, wh. is the reading of many MSS.

§ 283. οὐ μεμνήσθαι : why not μή? Cf. G M T. 594; H. 1024; G. 1451 last part; Cu. § 617, Obs. 1, 2. — ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ : in contrast with μετὰ τὴν μάχην, § 282. — τὴν αἰτίαν ταῦτην, *this charge*, sc. of holding friendly relations with Philip.

§ 284. προσεποιοῦ...δνόματα : cf. §§ 51, 52. “The repetitions, the enforcement again and again of the same point, are a distinguishing feature of Demosth., and formed also one of the characteristics of Mr. Fox’s great eloquence.” Lord. B. — τυμπανιστρίας : the ceremonies described in § 259 were accompanied with the beating of drums and cymbals. — ξένος...φίλος...γνώριμος : the thought is presented in the form of a climax, as each of these terms expresses less than the one next preceding: *guest-friend*, *friend*, *acquaintance*. — εἰλημένος...γεγονὼς, *although you yourself have been thus openly apprehended as a traitor, and although you have become*, etc. — ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσοις : cf. note § 197. — μᾶλλον, sc. η ἐμέ, as is easily understood fr. the connection. Many MSS. add these words; an addition that, coming after so many long syllables, would mar the rhythm of the sentence.

§ 285. Πολλά...τιμημόντσεν : the connection between this sentence and what immediately precedes is so loose, as to lead Dobræus to strike out this and to connect σημεῖον δέ directly w. the last sentence of § 284, making the sense: σημεῖον δέ τοῦ μὴ ἐμὲ τῶν κακῶν αἰτίον εἶναι. But the connection as it stands, though not very close, seems clear enough: “I was not the author of the evil he charges upon me, but of much good; and here is the proof that the people so regarded me.” — χειροτονῶν...τρούντ : the custom of pronouncing eulogies upon those who fell in battle was a later addition to the public funeral rites with wh. they were honored (cf. Thuc., II. 35),

dating probably fr. the close of the Persian wars. Cf. Diod., XI. 33. Specimens of such funeral orations are the famous one of Pericles, given by Thuc., II. 35–46; that found in Plato's *Menexenus*; the ἐπιτάφιος τοῖς Κομυθίοις βωηθόis, attributed to Lysias; and an ἐπιτάφιος, attributed to Dem. The choice of an orator was made by the people, the Senate having only the right to nominate (*προβληθέντα*). — **Δημάρδην**: an orator of consummate ability, regarded by some as a match for Dem. himself (cf. Quint., *Instit. Orat.*, II. Chap. 17, §§ 12, 13; Plut. *Dem.*, 8, 10). He was also a man without principle and a notorious partisan of Philip, described by Plut. *Phoc.*, I., as *νανάγιον τῆς πόλεως*. As prisoner of war at the battle of Charonea he secured the favor of Philip, and became the agent of the peace (ἀρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν εἰρήνην) that bears his name. Cf. Diod., XVI. 87. — **Ηγῆμονα**: a member of the Macedonian party and a self-educated orator. Esch. c. *Cles.*, § 25, mentions him as the author of a law w. reference to the Theoric fund enacted soon after the battle of Charonea. Hegemon and Pythocles were put to death together w. Phocion, five years after the death of Alexander the Great. — **Πνθοκλέους**: at first a friend of Dem., he became later the hireling of Philip. Cf. de F. L., §§ 225, 314. — *Et' ἀμενον, etiam luculentius et studiosius*. Diss.

§ 286. **αὐτοί**, i. e. δ δῆμος (§ 285). — δ...ταῦτ': a common inversion of the order of relat. and antec. clause. — **ώμολογσατε**, *this you acknowledged in the misfortunes of the state*; referring to their sympathy and friendship w. Philip, as at the beginning of § 284. — **οὖν**, accordingly; as the natural inference fr. such conduct. — **ἀντὶ ἔφρονον...ἀδεαν**, *they (the people) had the opinion that those who found in the public disasters security for the free utterance of their sentiments (lit. freedom from fear on account of what they thought, or, as some think, on account of what they purposed) had been their enemies long ago, but at that moment had become such manifestly.*

§ 287. **εἴτα καὶ προσήκεν**, *in the next place to be fitting also*. — **ὑπολαμβάνοντες...τούτῳ δέ ἔστων**: an *anacoluthon*, δέ being used as if a verb st. partic. preceded. So in Xen. *Anab.*, VI. 6. 16: χαλεπόν, εἰ οἴδηνος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐπανού καὶ τιμῆς τεθεούθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδὲ διοιος τοῖς ἀλλοις ἐσθμεθα. Inferior MSS. change into *ὑπελάμβανον*. — **διωρόφιον...δριστονδον**: deriv.? *Should not have sat under the same roof or at the same table with*. Kenn. Pabst renders by *Haus- und Tischgenosse*. — **ἐκεῖ**: at the court of Philip. — **κωμάζεν καὶ παιωνίζεν**: Dem. de F. L., § 128, says: οὗτος (sc. Αἰσχύλης) εἰς τάπικα τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, ἡ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φίλιππος έθνον, εἰστιάτο ἐλθών καὶ σπονδῶν μετεῖχε καὶ εὐχῶν, ἡς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων τελέσει καὶ χώρᾳ καὶ σπλοις ἀπολωλούσιν εἴσχετο ἐκεῖνος, καὶ συνεστεφανούτο καὶ συνεπαιώνετε Φίλιππων καὶ φιλοτηρας προσπινεν. Theopompus, as cited by Athenaeus, X. 435, states that after

the battle of Chæronea Philip invited the Athenian envoys to dine with him. Cf. note § 282. — τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν : the idea is that he assumed a *pathetic tone*. — ὑποκρινομένους, *acting a part*. Cf. § 15. The plur. is used so as to include in the allusion Demades, Hegemon, and Pythocles, besides Aesch. ὑμῖν, ὑμᾶς below have the same reference.

§ 288. οἱ...αιρέθεντες : an attributive clause, hence the repetition of the article. — ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς : an abridged expression = ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ταφῶν παρασκευήν ; so § 312, εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμαν = εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀνάληψιν. The relatives of the deceased formed a sort of committee of arrangement for the funeral ceremonies, the closing act of wh. was the περίδειπνον or νεκρόδειπνον. Cf. Dict. Antiq. sub Funus. — διλλως πως : supply a verb like ἐποίησαν, as w. οὗτως above. — ὡς παρ' οἰκαιοτάτῳ : cf. § 246. — ὥστε περ ταῦλλ' εἶναι, i. e. to make the funeral feast at the house of the nearest relative. Cf. Lucian *de Luctu.*, C. 24. — κοινῇ : as opposed to γένει. The sense is this : the statesman who labors for the welfare of all the citizens stands more nearly related to all than any other individual citizen ; each individual mourns over his own kin, but *his* grief is for all alike. — φ...διέφερεν : διάφερεν is used here like the Latin *interesse* w. the dative. — ή μή ποτ' ὄφελον, sc. παθεῖν : what kind of a wish ? Cf. G M T. 734; H. 871 a; G. 1512, 1513; Cu. § 515.

§ 289. ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ : the monument erected over the ashes of those who fell at Chæronea is mentioned by Pausanias, I. 29. 13, as situated in the outer Cerameicus, on the road to the Academy. Such monuments bore inscriptions (*ἐπιγράμματα*) wh. contained, besides the names of those buried, some poetic commemoration of their bravery and patriotism. The inscription before us is of unknown origin, is not found in Σ and several other MSS., contains many irregularities of diction, and is altogether so unsatisfactory, that almost all critics believe it to be of later composition. — εἰς δῆμον θεντούς σπλα, put their arms into the conflict ; an unusual expression ; θεσθαι σπλα = generally *to stack arms, to lay down arms*. — διεσκέδασαν : a poetical exaggeration as regards the result of the battle. So Lycurg. c. *Leocr.*, § 49, says : εἰ δὲ δεῖ παράδοξον μὲν εἰπεῖν, δληθὲς δέ, νικῶντες διέθανον. — μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δειματος : so read the MSS. Voemel, in an Ex-cursus, gives at least 15 different interpretations of this distich, of wh. the more important may be stated under these four heads : (1) Many recent Editt. accept Valkenaar's conjecture of λήματος for δειματος, and join both genitives w. μαρν. as genit. cause or price : *contending with bravery and courage* ; or, retaining δειματος, understand it w. the Schol. as = φύσιον οὐ εἰχον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ; or change the reading to ἀρετῆ δίχα δειματος = *virtute intrepida* ; or read ἀρετῆς κατὰ δειματος = *virtute contra communem terrorem*. (2) Join ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος w. έσάωτας = *they did not preserve*

their lives as the price of bravery and courage; or read διὰ δείγματος = *they did not, etc., through a display of bravery*. (3) Take ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος as an exclamation = *O valor and courage!* or change to ἀρετῆς ὡς δείγματος = *O display of valor!* (4) Join ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος w. βραβῆ, the negat. clause οὐκ...ψυχᾶς being parenthetic and requiring the ἀλλά following. The regular order would be: μαρ. δ' (οὐκ ἐσάσαν ψυχᾶς, ἀλλ') ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος...βραβῆ. A similar transposition in the order (called *Hyperbaton*) is found in Xen. *Hell.*, VII. 8. 7: ὑμέis τούς περὶ Ἄρχαν καὶ Τράπην (οὐ ψῆφοι ἀνεμελατε, ἀλλά) διπέτε πρώτον ἔδυασθητε ἐτιμωρήσαθε. Acc. to this view the sense is: *these by their death proved what they were, whether brave men or cowards; brave men, of course, for they all chose Hades as their common arbiter.* V. cites Lycurg. c. *Leocr.*, § 49, in support of this interpretation.—*οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων* must be taken closely w. the idea of *ἀπέθανον* that is contained in οὐκ ἐσάσαν ψυχᾶς. — *ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες*: this is properly said of victors who impose the yoke upon the vanquished. Diss. renders it by *se subjicientes*. The idea would be more properly expressed by οὐδὲ *ζυγὸν αὐχένα θέντες*. — *σώματα* = *the bones*, for the bodies were burned upon the field of battle. — *ἵδε κρίτοις*: referring to what follows. — *μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν...Ἐπορεύεται*: this distich has been variously understood. The two main interpretations are given: (1) The transl. acc. to the punctuation here adopted, wh. is that of Bekk., is: *to fail in nothing is of the gods, and to succeed in all things in life; but from destiny no escape is allotted.* The sense of the entire passage then is this: these sacrificed their lives for the freedom of their country; in that they lost their lives they met their *μοῖρα*, fr. wh. there is no escape anyway; in that they failed of success they were not at fault, for success (*τάσσα κατορθοῦν*, wh. is the positive side of *μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν*) is the gift of the gods. *θεῶν* is possess. genit., *it belongs to the gods*, hence is theirs to bestow. So *Aeschyl. Septem.*, 625: *θεοῦ δὲ δῶρόν ἔστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς*. Notice how well this interpretation harmonizes w. the sentiment: *τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας, κ. τ. ἐ., §§ 192, 193.* It also agrees, as we shall see, w. the application Dem. makes in § 290. (2) But Z., W., Dind., not to mention many more, punctuate after *κατορθοῦν*, join *ἐν βιοτῇ* w. what follows, and read thus: *to fail in nothing and to succeed in all things is the prerogative of the gods; but in mortal life (i. e. to mortals) it is decreed in no wise to escape destiny.* Here the condition of the gods and of men is contrasted, and we should expect some such application as this: it must, therefore, occasion no surprise, if *we mortals* fail in our undertakings. But how different is the application wh. the orator makes below in *οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ, κ. τ. ἐ.*, we shall presently see. To the many metrical translations already published of this epitaph, all of which follow in the last distich the *second* interpretation just given, I venture to add the following:—

*These for their country rushed into the fray,
And bravely kept the boastful foe at bay ;
Spared not their lives, but prizes honor's name,
Chose Hades judge of glory or of shame ;
For Hellas' sake, that far removed might be
Forevermore the curse of slavery.
And now guards well their sleep the fatherland,
Since this decree from Zeus shall ever stand :
'T is of the gods when all life's plans succeed,
But no escape from fate to mortals is decreed.*

§ 290. ὡς τὸ μηδὲν, κ. τ. ἐ., you hear, also in this very thing (*epitaph*), that the statement...attributes not to the statesman but to the gods the power of making those who contend successful. How the second interpretation of the last distich, *the gods alone are successful*, can be made to harmonize w. this application, it is difficult to see. — πάντα κατορθοῦν : most Edit. place a colon after the words, and thus make a harsh asyndeton in οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ, κ. τ. ἐ. — τρέψεις : a true optative. Cf. G M T. 721. I.; H. 870; G. 1507; Cu. § 514.

V. §§ 291—323. CONCLUSION. (a) §§ 291—293. THE FEELINGS EXHIBITED BY Aeschines ON ACCOUNT OF THE CALAMITIES OF HIS COUNTRY. ὡς δν, sc. ἔχοι : a similar ellipsis occurs w. δπερ δ' δν, § 197; ὕσπερ δν τρυτάη, § 298. — λαρυγγίζων, lit. straining his larynx, i. e. vociferating. — τοῖς...ἀναροΐς, in the distressful events that occurred. Cf. δυσμεναίων τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, § 217.

§ 292. τῆς πολιτείας, *the constitution*. — οὐτος, sc. φάσκει. Aesch. professed in his speech great solicitude for the preservation of the ancient laws. — καὶ εἰ : cf. note § 272. — τετάχθαι, *to range himself*. — πράγματα, troubles. Dem. purposely uses a mild term; but Aesch., § 57, more strongly says: τῶν δὲ ἀτυχημάτων ἀτάντων Δημοσθένην αἴτιον γεγενημένον. — ἀπὸ : denotes the point of departure; not before but only from the adoption of my policy.

§ 293. πραττομένη : Schaeff. remarks that the departure fr. the regular order, τῇ πρ. ἀρχῇ, throws the emphasis upon ἀρχῇ. Similar are τὰς...βλασφημίας εἰρημένας, § 126; τὴν...βώμην...ὑπάρχουσαν, § 98. On the contrary, the regular attributive position of the partic. is found in τῶν εἰργασμένων.. κακῶν, § 142, where the emphasis falls on εἰργασμένων. — τοῖς δλλοῖς means the rest of the statesmen who may have received public rewards. — εὐ οἰδ' θη : cf. note § 171. — ξελαπτε : this he did by asserting that any single individual could make any such arrogant claim.

(b) §§ 294—296. Aeschines IS CONSPICUOUS AMONG TRAITORS. τι...

Ἴππιμά, *But why do I rebuke him for this, when, etc.* — **φιλιππισμόν** : Lord B. compares “Jacobinism.” Cf. § 176. The orator has probably in mind the passage fr. *Aesch.* cited on p. 100. — **ἐπ' ἀληθείας** : cf. note § 17. — **ἀνελόντας** *έκ μέρου, taking out of the midst, i. e. leaving out of view.* The partic. is purposely left indefinite, agreeing w. the implied subject of *σκοπεῖσθαι*. Below he becomes more specific by the use of *εἴροιτ'*. — **ὡς ἀληθώς**, *really.* Cf. *ὡς ἔτέως*, § 85. This *ὡς* is the same as that used w. expressions of comparison and the superlative, but is usually not translated before adverbs.

§ 295. **τοὺς ἵπάρχοντας πολίτας, cives suæ factionis.** Schaeaf. Cf. note § 174. The historian Polybius, Vol. XVII. 14, criticises the unfairness of Dem. for including in the category of traitors all those public men who did not sympathize w. his policy of resistance to Philip; and he defends the persons here named on the ground that they availed themselves of the aid of Philip only for the benefit of their respective countries, not for their own aggrandizement. Most of these names are mentioned by Harpocration and Athenæus, who quote fr. the lost history of Theopompus, and in Plutarch’s *Lives of Dem., Alex., Phocion and Timoleon.* Cicero has imitated this passage in his oration against Verres.

§ 296. **μιαροί, κ. τ. ί.** : Kenn. renders these epithets by *profligates, parasites, miscreants.* — **ἡκρωτηριασμένοι...προπτεωκότες...μετροῦντες** : Longinus praises the cumulative force of these metaphors. *ἡκρ.* = *having crippled.* Lord B. translates *προκ., having toasted away.* *προκίνειν* = *to drink to something;* e. g. *Φιλιππιψ φιλογονίας προσθίνειν, de F. L., § 128.* But fr. the custom of bestowing the drinking-cup as a gift upon the person whose health was pledged (cf. *de F. L.*, § 139; Xen. *Cyr.*, VIII. 3. 35), this word came to signify *to give up recklessly.* So in *Olymth.*, III., § 22 : *προπτεοτα τῆς παραντικά χάριτος τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα.* — **τὸ μηδένα...αἰτῶν** = *independence.* — **ἥσαν** : the plural by the attraction of the predicate nouns. — **ἀνατεργάφοτες** : a later form, the correctness of wh. is disputed by some who prefer *ἀνατεργόφορες.*

(c) §§ 297–305. RECAPITULATION OF HIS OWN MERITS AND SERVICES, AS CONTRASTED WITH THE CONDUCT OF THESE TRAITORS. **συστάσεως...κακίας...προδοσίας** depend on *ἀνατίος.* — *εἰ δέ μὴ ληρεῖν, if one ought not to trifling;* i. e. *if one ought in all earnestness to call things by their right names.* — **διαφθαρέντων** : gen. absol. — **ἀρχαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ,** lit. *beginning from you,* i. e. *with you at the head.*

§ 298. **ἔμ:** the emphatic position at the head of the sentence should not escape notice. — **φιλανθρωπία λόγων, blanda verba.** Diss. — **δρόσιος ὑμῖν** : Dem. compares his opponents to the tongue of a balance, wh. readily turns to the side of the scale in wh. personal interests are laid as outweighing the interests of the state. — **ἄστερες δύ:** cf. *ὡς δύ, § 291.* Dem. employs the

same figure in his *Orat. de Pace*, § 12. — καὶ...τῶν ἀνθρώπων προστὰς, and standing at the head of the very weightiest interests of the men of my time, or, of weightier interests than any of my contemporaries. τῶν ἀνθρώπων is partit. genit. w. the attributive superlative, though the genit. belongs in idea to the subj. of the verb πεπολιτευμαι. Similar are ἀπάντων ἐνδοξότατα, § 65; ὡς...κράτιστα, § 320. — Ήδη ταῦτ': this claim is as just as it is eloquent. The honesty of Dem. stands unquestioned, in spite of the aspersions of his enemies.

§ 299. οὐ...διέτροπες: for the language of Aesch. see the citation on pp. 125, 126. — μου: for this genit. cf. note § 28. — πόρρω μέντοι, κ. τ. δ., but, of course, I place these far below my political measures. — οὐ λίθοις, κ. τ. δ.: to bring out the rhetorical emphasis, follow the Greek order in translating. — οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις...φρονῶ, nor of my transactions do I pride myself most upon these. — πόλεις...τόπους...λιμένας: in §§ 230, 237, Dem. enumerates these allied states, friendly territories and harbors. — πολλοὺς is bracketed by some Editt. as an interpolation, and placed by others just before τοὺς ὑπέρ. With V. we may take it as belonging to both ἵππους and τοὺς...ἀμυνομένους (= ξένους), since, in § 237, Dem. speaks of a large accession gained by himself of both cavalry and mercenary troops. — τούτων, the Athenians. — τοὺς...ἀμυνομένους: taken substantively. With the sentiment of this passage may be compared the apothegm of Lycurgus found in Plut. *Lycurg.*, I. 9: οὐκ ἀν εἴη ἀτείχιστος πόλις θῆτις ἀνθράσι καὶ οὐ πλινθούς ἐστεφάνωται. Wh. cites in illustration the well-known ode of Sir W. Jones, commencing: "What constitutes a state?"

§ 300. πρὸ, in front of, as a defence. — Πειραιῶς...τοῦ δοτρεως: these were enclosed by ramparts and fortifications of stone and wood, as contrasted w. τὴν χώραν, wh. was not protected in this way. δοτρεως is the usual Attic for δοτρεος. — τοῖς λογισμοῖς, in tactics; dat. of respect. Notice the emphasis of ἔγω as contrasted w. Φιλίππου. — τῇ τύχῃ: and yet, acc. to Diod., XVI. 88, the Athenians, after the battle of Chæronea, condemned Lysicles, their own general, to death, on the accusation of Lycurgus.

§ 301. οὐκ...προβαλέσθαι: the orator, having spoken of the general aim of his measures, now proceeds to particulars. The topics here presented have been treated before in §§ 230, 240, 241. — ἐκ θαλάττης: cf. note § 230. — τοὺς διμόρους, sc. Megara, Corinth, Achaia. — τὴν σιτοπομπίαν: cf. note § 87. For a similar anticipation in the construction cf. Dem. c. *Conon*, § 17: τὰς ἀναγκαλας προφάσεις δικις μὴ μεῖζους γίγνωνται προειδοπο. — παρὰ πόσταν φύλαν, sc. χώραν, along a territory throughout friendly.

§ 302. τὰ μὲν...τὰ δ', some...others. — ἴπαρχόντων, and to preserve some of those belonging to our side; cf. note on ἴπαρχοντας, § 295. — τοιαῦτα, such things, i. e. as would preserve these allies. — Προκόννησον: this island

was in alliance w. Athens in 362, when it applied to the Athenians for aid against Cyzicus. — Χερρόνησον : cf. § 80. — Τέρεσσον : this island was important as commanding the entrance to the Hellespont. — τὰ δὲ : obj. of πρᾶξαι and subj. of ὑπάρχει ; in apposition w. it are the names following. — Βυζάντιον : cf. § 87. — Αβύδον : Abydos was, acc. to Dem. c. *Aristocr.*, § 158, in constant enmity w. Athena. — Εὔβοιαν : the genuineness of this word has been suspected, because Eubœa has just before been mentioned as a part of the Attic fortifications. Here, however, Dem. is speaking of alliance. Cf. § 79; A. Schaef., II. 396 ff., 457 ff. — ἀνὴρ δέλευτε = & οὐχ ὑπῆρχε. Diss. The verb is impersonal.

§ 303. καὶ...καὶ, both...and. “The καὶ emphasizes the connection of plan and execution, for both of which the orator claims equal approval.” HOLMES. — παρεθύντα : Dem. disclaims any crime of negligence, of ignorance, of treachery. — θύμαντο...ἀνέτρεψαν : the injury is represented as repeated or continued, the final act of destruction as momentary. The plural in διέτρεψαν represents the various agencies named as operating individually, as well as collectively..

§ 304. μόνον, only. — Θερραλία...Αρκαδία : for the attitude of these states towards Athens cf. notes §§ 63, 64. — ἵκεχρητ' ἀν., would have experienced. Σ and L. read ἵκέχρητ' ἀν., wh. V. and W. follow, changing οὐδεὶς to οὐδένες to correspond.

§ 305. ἀν δύτες : the ἀν gives a contingent force to the whole sentence, but is to be joined directly w. φίουν. — τῶν is added to these pronouns to give them a more definite reference : *so many and such blessings as these just mentioned.* The boast that Dem. here makes was really well founded, and seems to be justified by the following sentiment, wh. is said to have been inscribed upon the pedestal of a statue erected to his memory at Athens :—

Εἰπερ Ισηνή ρώμην γνώμην, Δημόσθενες, εἰχες,
Οὐποτ' ἀν Ἑλλήνων θῆξεν "Αρης Μακεδών.

— πολλὰ...θλάττοσι χρῶματα, that I make use of statements falling far short of the facts. — λέγε...καὶ ἀνάγνωθι : a similar coupling of these words is found in § 28, where see note. — ταῦτα : the reference is uncertain, owing to the confused condition of the text. The Editt. of Z. reject the addition τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα, wh. is found in most of the MSS., and understand ταῦτα to refer to certain ψηφίσματα. Σ has for the title of the omitted document or documents : APIΩΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΜΑ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ; but all the other MSS. (quod sciām) have ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ. From the connection we infer that Dem. calls for the reading of such documents as would show how much Athens had done to assist other states in their efforts to retain their freedom against the machinations of Philip.

(d) §§ 306–313. DEM. PLACES THE COWARDLY AND UNPatriotic CONDUCT OF AESCH. IN CONTRAST WITH HIS OWN. δεῖ : some critics conjecture δέει in exact response to the question put in § 301 : Τί χρῆν... πολεῖν. — ἀντι κατορθωμένων, κ. τ. ἐ, in the event of the success of which, we should beyond a doubt have been pre-eminently great, and justly so, too. For the genit. absol. used in place of condit. clause cf. note § 80. — μεγίστους agrees w. the implied indirect obj. (ημῖν) of ὑπῆρχεν. With ὑπῆρχεν and προσῆν many MSS. have δν, wh., however, is not essential in such expressions ; cf. note on ἔξηρκει, § 196. With τὸ δικαῖος supply μεγίστους εἶναι as subj. of προσῆν. — ἀς ἐτέρως : a euphemism for adversely. Cf. §§ 85, 212. — συμβάντων : genit. absol., denoting concession. — πεπλεστι : whatever we may have lost, there is saved and left over to us from our loss reputation and honor.

§ 307. οὐ μά Δι' οὐκ : thus should the patriotic citizen act, and not, by Zeus, no, not, etc. — τὸν...ὑποστάντα is obj. of βασκαίνειν, and has depending on it λέγειν, γράφειν, μένειν. ὑποστήναι = to put one's shoulders under the burden in contrast w. ἀποστήναι above. — μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, lit. to remain (resting) upon these ; i. e. to abide by these. Cf. note § 17. — ὕπουλον, insidious. What is the metaphor ? — οὐδέ γ', and certainly not. The emphasis of γ' falls upon ἡσυχίας as that of wh. he is to speak further. — δ, a thing which.

§ 308. ἀπλῶς, openly, honestly ; as opposed to ὕπουλον above. — μεστοι τοῦ...λέγοντος, said of the man who speaks incessantly. It seems that this was possible even in an Athenian Assembly ! Dem. refers here to himself, as in those times he must have been unusually active in the debates. — θέσκολον, harassing ; euphemistic, like ἐτέρως, § 306. — πολλὰ δὲ τάνθραπινα, and many are the casualties of human life. Kenn. — ὥσπερ πνεῦμ', suddenly, like a gale after a calm, he comes out from his silence as a speaker. Tyler's edition remarks justly that ἡσυχίας must be taken in close connection w. πνεῦμα, the ἐκ being transitional, as in τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδοκτός, Soph. O. T., 454. ἐφάνη is the gnomic aor., the tense expressing the suddenness of the appearance. — πεφωναστκηκάς, with well-trained voice. — συνείρει, he strings these together clearly and without taking breath. Cf. notes § 280. — τῷ τυχόντι : to some one or other of his fellow-citizens.

§ 309. ἄμπτορον κατασκευήν, arrangements for commerce ; by obtaining foreign markets and entrepôts for Athens. — ἀποδειχθεοιν, undisguised.

§ 310. τούτων...ἴμέτασις : the sense is, all this served as the test for patriotic conduct. — τοὺς δών χρόνοις means the earlier times of the Republic, in contrast w. ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος, the period just past. — ἀποδεῖξεις, opportunities to prove one's self. — ἐν οἷς, i. e. ἐν ἀνδράσι καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς, from the collective sense of ἀνδρί before. — φανήσει γεγονάς, you will manifestly

have been. By the use of the future the speaker places himself in advance of his own time, and expresses the verdict that posterity will pronounce upon the character of Aesch. — *διοιστοσοῦ*, lit. *the any-eth whatever*. The part. *οὐν* corresponds to the Latin *-cunque*. — *εἰν γ' οἴς, κ. τ. ε.*, *certainly not then connected with what advanced the interests of our country*.

§ 311. *οἰκεῖων*: all the departments of public service are named here: *domestic, Grecian, foreign.* — *ἴπηγάρθωνται*, *has been improved*. The addition of *διὰ σέ* in the Z. edition is wanting in the best MSS., weakens the sentence, and is superfluous in connection w. *ἐπέστης* and *σοῦ πράξαντος*. — *τοῖα* has a sarcastic force: *what sort of?* As predicate in all these questions we readily supply *γεγόνασι σοῦ πράξαντος* fr. the first sentence. A similar passage is found in Dinarch. *c. Dem.*, § 96. On its rhetorical power Dissen remarks: “Est autem magna et insignis vis in hac singularum rerum enumeratione et toties repetita interrogatione.” — *τίς... βοήθεα χρημάτων*, *what financial help of a political and public nature have you ever given either to the wealthy or to the poor?* “The poor were benefited by the alterations wh. Dem. effected in the regulations for the trierarchy; the rich by improvements in the administration of the revenues.” Wh.

§ 312. *ἀ τὰν = ὁ λῷστε;* *τὰν* is probably an old dialectic vocative of *τύ* or *τύη = σύ* with *ν*, the old ending, originally *μ* of the first person, added. Cf. *ἔγών*. Dem. puts the following rejoinder in the mouth of his opponent: *well, but if I performed nothing of all this, yet I manifested the right spirit, did I not?* — *'Αριστόνικος*: the same one mentioned in § 83. — *εἰς τὴν ἀντιτύπαν = εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐπιτύπας ἀνάληψιν*. Cf. note § 288. It appears that Aristonicus had fallen through insolvency into *ἀτύπα*, that to enable him to regain his lost rights of citizenship his friends made a collection for him, but that he expended for the benefit of the state the money thus contributed. — *τῶν Φίλωνος... χρημάτων*, *the property of Philo, your brother-in-law.* — *πλειστων*, sc. *ὄντων*: some MSS. and many Editt. read *πέντε ταλάντων*; then *χρημάτων* is taken as a partit. genit. (*more than five talents of the property, etc.*), and it is to be inferred that Philo left an estate of extraordinary value. — *ἴρανον δωρεάν*, *a present made by a joint contribution.* — *τῶν ἡγεμόνων*: cf. § 103. — *εἴφ' οἴς θλυμήν*, *for the damage you did to the law of the Trierarchy.* Just in what way and when Aesch., as advocate of the wealthiest class, crippled this law, we have no data fr. wh. to determine.

§ 313. *λόγου ἐκ λόγου*, *by speaking of one thing after another.* — *ἐκκρούσω*, lit. *beat or drive myself out of the present (opportunity)*. This he says with respect to the shortness of the time still left him for the remainder of his speech. — *τούτοις οἴς*: masc., meaning the Macedonians. — *νεανίας, vigorous*. “*Youth as the type of (1) vigor or (2) violence appears in the uses of νεανίας and all its derivations, as the Lexica abundantly testify.*” TYLER.

— **λαμπρός**, *brilliant*. When did you condescend to *shine*? The epithet may, however, be more directly applied to his voice, as below in *λαμπροφωνότατος*. — **ἥντις δὲ...δέη**, sc. *πράττειν*: many MSS. read *εἰπεῖν* either after *δὲ* or after *τούτων*. — **Θεοκρίνης**, acc. to Harpocr., was a *συκοφάντης*. Diss. explains the allusion thus: like this notorious informer and slanderer, *Æsch.* pretends to commiserate the fate of those who fell victims to his own intrigues; as e. g. when he deplores the fate of Thebes and of Phocis.

(e) §§ 314–320. DEM. COMPARES HIMSELF AND *Æsch.* WITH THE PUBLIC MEN OF THE PRESENT AND OF FORMER TIMES. **μέμνησαι**: in addition to the citations fr. *Æsch.* given below, see also those given in connection w. § 208. — **τὴν...εἴνοιαν ὑπάρχουσαν**: for the position of the partic. cf. note § 293. — **προλαβόντα**, *taking advantage of, turning to his own account*.

§ 315. **ὑπεστή**, *there is a certain lurking* (*ὑπό*). — **τοὺς τεθνεῶτας**: the sentiment “Nil mortuis nisi bonum” finds abundant illustration in all literature. So Thuc., II. 45: *τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ὅντα ἀπα τεθνεῶτας εἰσθεὶ ἐπανεῖν. φθόνος γὰρ τοὺς ξώσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίταλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀναταγωνίστω φύνοιται*. — **κρίνωμαι**: what use of the mood? Cf. G M T. 287; H. 866, 3; G. 1358; Cu. § 511.

§ 316. **οὐ μὲν...ἡλίκας**, *nay, then, one might not say just how great*; sc. these good services of former times were. — **τὰς ἐπὶ...δγεν**, *to subject those that are conferred upon the present generation to thanklessness and contempt*. *δγεν* implies that he would thus bring these good deeds out of their true, into a false light. For the prep. *ἐπὶ* Schaeff. conjectures *περὶ*, but others defend the use of *ἐπὶ* in the sense of *intended for, coming to*. (Cf. Funkhaenel in Fleckeisen *Ann. Phil.*, 1858, p. 320.) — **τούτων** is understood by some to refer to the Athenians (= *παρὰ τούτων*, as it is written in all but two MSS.); by others as neuter referring to the collective *τι*, and objective genitive, thus: *the honorable recognition and kindly feeling manifested for this*.

§ 317. **ἄρα**: slightly ironical, as if what he is about to say was already clearly enough understood. — **ταῦτα βουλομένη**, *aiming at the same objects*. — **ταῖς**, sc. *πολιτείᾳ καὶ προαιρέσει*. — **κατ' ἔκεινος**: cf. § 17. Some MSS. add *τοὺς χρόνους*. — **οἱ διαστρόντες...δὲ...ἔπιγνον**: for this irregularity of construction cf. note on *ὑπολαμβάνοντες...τοῦτο δ' ἔώρων*, § 287. This anacoluthon doubtless caused the reading *οἱ διέσυρον μὲν* found in many MSS. and adopted by Dind., Bekk., and others. The antithesis in the idea is brought out more forcibly by the inversion of the order of subj. and obj.

§ 318. **ἀδελφὸς**: *Æsch.* had two brothers, Philochares, who was distinguished for military service (*Æsch. de F. L.*, § 149), and Aphobetus (Dem.

de F. L., § 237), who was a somewhat prominent politician. Diss. thinks the orator refers here to the former, but W. thinks to the latter. — *ἴγα... εἶτε*, i. e. than *χρηστέ*. In the same vein of sarcasm he calls the entire Macedonian party in § 89 *οἱ χρηστοί*. — *τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν, those of his own age*. The reflexive refers back to the object *τὸν ξώντα*.

§ 319. *ὁ Φιλάμμων... ἀνηγορέωτο*: see Introduction, p. xv, for the singular anticipation of this point by Aesch. in the extract given below. Philammon, acc. to Harpocration, was a famous Athenian boxer and athlete, who was evidently well known to the orator's audience. — *Γλαύκου*: Glaucus flourished about 470 b. c., and is said to have gained the prize for boxing twice in the Pythian, eight times in the Nemean, and as often in the Isthmian games. Cf. Pausan., VI. 10. 3. — *ἀσθενότερος ήν... ἀπήντη... δριώτα ἐμάχητο... ἐστεφανοῦτο*: the thought by being presented in this two-fold way, first negatively and then positively, is made very clear and emphatic. — *οὐδένα, I shrink from no one*; i. e. *from a comparison with no one*. So *κίνδυνον ἐκστῆναι* = *to shrink from danger*. Cf. Dem. *Lept.*, § 10. But *ἐξισταμαι οὐδενί*, wh. is the reading of many edit., = *I yield to no one*. Cf. Soph. *Philoct.*, 1042: *νῦν δὲ σοι γ' ἐκὼν ἐκστήσομαι*. — *ἄν*: partit. genitive. Cf. note § 298.

§ 320. *ἴδαμόλλου*: deriv.? *When loyalty to the fatherland lay open for competition in common to all*. — *κράτιστα* = *δριώτα* here; some MSS. read *βέλτιστα*. — *καὶ... καὶ... καὶ... καὶ*, and...not only, but also...and. — *τούτους*, i. e. the Athenians. — *ἄ... ἄφελε*: cf. note § 288. — *ἴτερον*, another, i. e. a foreigner, meaning Philip. So in § 323 *ἴτερων* refers to the Macedonians, and *ἴτερος* to Alexander. — *ἴξεται*, sc. *ῷ*: here *ἴξεται* does not mean trial, test, as in § 310, but rather an inquiry for, demand for; as if the Macedonian party at Athens were mustering into their ranks the best men they could find for leaders. — *ἐν τάξι... μέγας, all of you were in rank grand people, with splendid equipages*. Kenn. “In a rocky country with a poor soil like Attica, horse-keeping was a sign of wealth. In fact it was so expensive in Athens, that in the time of Aristophanes it was a ready road to ruin for moderate incomes.” Wh. Hence W. thinks that in the use of *ἰπποτρόφος* there lies an allusion to Aesch. expensive style of living at that time.

(f) §§ 321–323. THE CONDUCT OF EACH ORATOR AS A PATRIOTIC CITIZEN FINALLY CONTRASTED. *τὸν φύσει μέτριον*: Lord B. renders by *the citizen of ordinary worth*. *μέτριον* seems to be used here, as in § 10, to avoid giving offence, and = *respectable fair*. *φύσει* seems to be used in the sense of *naturally*, i. e. *what is in the capacity of human nature*, as opposed to the superhuman and the supernatural. So also Professor Tyler interprets it. The phrase then means *the reasonably good citizen*, *φύσει* limiting

μέτριον. "This seems to accord better with the signification of the words and the demands of the context, than the *well-disposed citizen*, wh. is the reading of Kenn. and Wh., but which is too nearly *identical* w. εῖναι, one of the things that the citizen must *possess*." TYLER. — ἀνεπιθυμούσατο, *least invidious*. — ἐν...ταῖς ἔξοιταις, *when in authority*. So Aristot. *Ethic.*, II. 3. 3 : οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἔξοιταις = *those who are in supreme authority*. — τὴν...προαιρεσίν διαφυλάττειν, *to maintain for the state her pursuit of what is magnanimous and what promotes her precedence*. — τὴν εἶναι, *the spirit of loyalty*, sc. διαφυλάττειν. — τούτου = τοῦ εὐνοεῖν. A man has it in his own control whether he will be patriotic or not; but whether he can increase the power of his country, this often lies beyond his control. — ταύτην = τὴν εἶναι.

§ 322. ἔξαιτούμενος : cf. note on ἔξηγούμην, § 41. — Ἀμφικτυονικὸς δικαστας : the insertion of *eis* in Σ before these words gives the unusual constr. of ἔπαγειν τὰ eis δίκην. The precise nature of these *Amphictyonic suits* is not clear. From the statement of Pausanias, VII. 10. 10, it appears that to the Amphictyonic council was given jurisdiction over any cases of active opposition against Philip, in violation of the articles of agreement made at the Congress of Corinth. A. Schaef., III. 198, understands Dem. to refer to attempts that were made to bring him to trial before this council on a charge of active co-operation in the Spartan revolt, 330 B. C. Dissen thinks Dem. refers to the time when Philip was Amphictyonic general and he (Dem.) was charged with being his open antagonist. Jacobs understands the allusion to be to the same time that Alexander demanded the surrender of Dem. just referred to by ἔξαιτούμενος. — οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, *not when they made overtures*; alluding to attempts to gain him over by bribes. Most texts have οὐκ ἀπειλούντων before οὐκ ἔπ., but this, besides being omitted fr. Σ, violates the exact correspondence of these clauses. — προσβαλλόντων, *not when they set these accursed wretches like wild beasts upon me*. — δρθῆν...δικαίαν are in the predicate position and must be rendered accordingly. — θεραπεύειν is in explanation of δδν, and accus. in apposition with it.

§ 323. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν...τῶν δὲ : the force of the negative extends over both parts of the sentence. Cf. οὐ...μὲν δύναται...έμε δέ, § 13. — γεγηθόει...πειρέχομαι...προτείνων : what a graphic picture of a man who goes about exulting and congratulating partisans over some piece of good news just received; and how vividly the terms πεφρικώς, στένων, κύπτων represent an opposite state of mind! — ἐκεῖσε, *thither*, i. e. to Macedon. — Εἴω δὲ βλέποντι, *and look abroad*, with longing hopes of personal preferment at the hands of foreigners. — ἐν οἷς...ἔτερος : notice the double antithesis in this brief sentence.

§ 324. PERORATION. ὡς πάντες θεοί : the oration closes, as it began, w.

an invocation to the gods. — ἐξάλεις καὶ προάλεις : ἐξ gives the idea of utterly, πρό of *speedily*, i. e. before they have accomplished our ruin. This expression is a standing form of imprecation. So *de F. L.*, § 172 : ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην καὶ προώλης, and elsewhere. *By no means, O ye gods, one and all, by no means sanction this conduct ; but above all implant within these men a better mind and purpose ! But if they are indeed incorrigible, cause utter and swift destruction by land and sea to come upon them, and them alone ; and grant to the rest of us a most speedy deliverance from our impending terrors, and an unshaken security !* The impressive and simple beauty of this peroration has won the admiration of all critics. “The music of the closing passage,” says Lord B., “is almost as fine as the sense is impressive and grand, and the manner dignified and calm.” In marked contrast with most of this criticism is the peroration of Æsch., which alone by itself justifies the famous comparison of Æsch. style with that of Dem. given by Quintilian : “Plenior Æschines, et magis fusus, et grandior similis, quominus strictus est ; carnis tamen plus habet, minus lacertorum.”

APPENDIX.

ABSTRACT OF THE ORATION OF AÆSCHINES.

EXORDIUM. (§§ 1 – 8.) AÆschines complains of the frequent disregard of the ancient regulations concerning the conduct of affairs in the popular Assembly and in the courts, and warns the jurors to maintain well the institution of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* as the safeguard of popular government, and to remember in this trial that the liberties of all the citizens are committed to their care.

I: CTESIPHON HAS VIOLATED THE LAW IN PROPOSING TO CROWN DEMOSTHENES WHILE HE WAS STILL ACCOUNTABLE FOR HIS OFFICES AS COMMISSIONER OF WALLS AND TREASURER OF THE THEORIC FUND. (§§ 9 – 31.)

§§ 9 – 12. The law of *accountability* provides that no public officer shall be honored with crowns or declarations of praise until he shall have passed the legal examination at the expiration of his term of office. This law was aimed at those who, previous to this examination, managed to have preliminary votes of praise or public honors proclaimed for them. It was sometimes evaded by a proposal made prior to the examination, to crown a public official “when his accounts shall have been approved.” But Ctesiphon manifests his utter contempt of law in that he proposes to crown Demosthenes without adding any such proviso.

§§ 13 – 16. But there is another evasion of the law to which the defence will have recourse. The offices to which Demosthenes was appointed, they will claim, are simply *commissions*

or *agencies*, not *magistracies*; and the law applies only to *magistracies* properly so called. But the law declares that all offices whatsoever shall be accounted *magistracies*; hence this claim is a wretched piece of sophistry.

§§ 17–24. The argument upon which Demosthenes relies as unanswerable is, that he made donations of his own means to the public, and that he cannot be held to an account, unless one is to be made responsible for his benefactions. But the law exempts from giving account no one who has the smallest part in the affairs of the state. This is shown in the case of different officials. The law also forbids the man who has not passed the accounts to dedicate any part of his effects to religious purposes, or in any way to alienate his property. If Demosthenes's claim of having made a donation to the state in the expenditure of money upon the fortifications is valid, why did he not give the customary opportunity of scrutinizing his accounts? It is proved that Demosthenes was actually in office at the time that this decree was proposed.

§§ 25–27. While the laws expressly forbid the crowning of one in any office, even of the smallest consequence, before his accounts have been approved, Ctesiphon presumes to confer this honor on Demosthenes when, by virtue of his offices, he was responsible for every kind of public magistracy.

§§ 28–31. By defining the various kinds of *magistracies*, it is shown that those officials also who are appointed by the tribes come within the intent of the law. Demosthenes was appointed by his tribe; and therefore this case is clearly a violation of the law.

II. CTESIPHON HAS VIOLATED THE LAW IN ORDERING THE CROWN TO BE PROCLAIMED IN THE THEATRE AT THE GREAT DIONYSIA. (§§ 32–48.)

§§ 32–40. The law of *proclamation* provides that a crown granted by the people shall be proclaimed in the Pnyx at the

meeting of the Ecclesia, never in any other place. But the defence will quote the so-called Dionysiac law, which permits the proclamation of such a crown in the theatre when the new tragedies are exhibited, provided the people so determine by vote. On this law, the defence will plead, Ctesiphon has founded his decree. But this is directly contradictory to the former law; and with our regulations for inspecting laws, two that are contradictory cannot coexist.

§§ 41–45. The purpose of this Dionysiac law was to do away with the abuse of proclaiming in the theatre crowns that were conferred by a tribe or by a deme, and also of announcing the manumission of slaves. But this law provides that crowns conferred upon Athenian citizens by *foreign states* may be proclaimed in the theatre, after first obtaining the consent of the Athenian Assembly. The Dionysiac law, therefore, has nothing to do with the law of proclamation in the case of crowns conferred by the Athenian people.

§§ 46–48. That this interpretation of the Dionysiac law is correct, is confirmed by the distinction made between the crown proclaimed in the theatre and that proclaimed in the Assembly, since the former must be dedicated to Athena, while the latter may be retained by the possessor as a memorial for his family.

III. CTESIPHON HAS VIOLATED THE LAW IN PROPOSING TO CROWN DEMOSTHENES ON THE GROUND THAT HE AIMS CONSTANTLY IN ALL HIS WORDS AND DEEDS AT THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE STATE, BECAUSE THIS GROUND IS FALSE, AND IT IS CONTRARY TO THE LAWS TO INSERT FALSE STATEMENTS IN THE PUBLIC DECREES.
EXAMINATION OF THE CHARACTER AND CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES.
(§§ 49–176.)

A. §§ 51–53. INSINUATIONS AGAINST THE PERSONAL CHARACTER OF DEMOSTHENES.

B. §§ 54–176. THE PUBLIC CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES EXAMINED AND CONDEMNED.

(a.) FIRST PERIOD OF DEMOSTHENES'S CAREER, FROM THE WAR ABOUT AMPHIPOLIS, 358 B. C., TO THE PEACE OF PHILOCRATES, 346 B. C. (§§ 58 - 78.)

§§ 58 - 61. Demosthenes is responsible for the peace of Philocrates. By precipitating the negotiations connected with this peace, without waiting for the return of our deputies, he prevented the allies of Athens from being parties to the peace, and betrayed Cersobleptes, king of Thrace, the friend and ally of this state, into the hands of Philip.

§§ 62 - 74. A more particular description of the manner and means by which these results were secured, through the co-operation of Demosthenes with Philocrates.

§§ 75 - 78. The conduct of Demosthenes is disgraceful in flattering the envoys of Philip; is shameless in pretending that the death of Philip was foretold him by a divine vision; is heartless in so speedily forgetting his grief for the loss of a child.

(b.) EXAMINATION OF THE SECOND PERIOD OF THE CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE PEACE OF PHILOCRATES, 346 B. C., UNTIL ITS END, 340 B. C. (§§ 79 - 105.)

§§ 79 - 83. The disastrous results of the peace of Philocrates are chargeable to Demosthenes, since he and Philocrates were the first movers and supporters of the peace. In order to free himself from this charge, he inveighs against his colleagues in the embassy and against Philip, thus procuring the condemnation of Philocrates, and gaining for himself the reputation of being a patriot.

Demosthenes is disposed to cavil about small points.

§§ 84 - 105. Examination of the boast of Demosthenes, that in gaining the Euboeans and Thebans as allies he surrounded the city as with walls of adamant. First, as to the alliance with the Euboeans. The generous conduct of Athens in freeing Euboea from the occupation of the Thebans was basely requited by the inhabitants of Chalcis in attempting to destroy the Athenian

forces that came to assist Plutarch, the tyrant of Eretria. This attempt was headed by Callias (whose praises Demosthenes is bribed to sing), and was a failure. Callias, with whom we became reconciled again, afterwards contrives (by lavishing gold on Demosthenes) to obtain an alliance for Chalcis with Athens, by which Athens was obliged to take up arms on every occasion in defence of the Chalcidians. Callias and Demosthenes contrive to defraud the state of the contributions from Oreus and from Eretria, amounting to ten talents. This fraud was perpetrated under pretence that great preparations were in progress for a general attack of all the Peloponnesian states upon Philip, and that these Eubœan cities should use the tribute ordinarily paid to Athens to equip themselves for participation in this attack. Bribes influenced Demosthenes to aid these schemes of Callias.

(c.) THIRD PERIOD OF THE CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES EXAMINED, FROM THE CLOSE OF THE PEACE, 340 B. C., TO THE BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA, 338 B. C. (§§ 106–158.)

§§ 106–136. The offence of Demosthenes against the sanctuary of Delphi in the affair of the Locrians of Amphissa. (1.) The account of the destruction of the port of Cirrha and of the consecration of the Cirrhaean plain. (2.) The Locrians of Amphissa restore the harbor and cultivate this district, in violation of the mandate of the god. Demosthenes is bribed by the Amphissians to defend their impiety before the Amphictyonic Council. (3.) In this Council the Amphissians charge Athens with sacrilege in depositing certain shields in a new temple at Delphi before it was finished. Aeschines, as the Athenian deputy, defends the city, and in turn charges the Amphissians with sacrilege. (4.) The Amphictyonic Council resolves on the spot to punish the Amphissians. A conflict between them ensues, in which the latter come off victorious. A resolution is passed by the Council calling a special session to provide means for pun-

ishing them. (5.) Demosthenes contrived to have a decree passed by which the Athenian deputies were forbidden to meet with the Amphictyons at this extraordinary session. (6.) In this session it was resolved to undertake a war against the Amphissians. A fine was imposed upon them ; but since it was not paid, a second expedition was made, when Philip was on his return from the Scythian campaign. Of the leadership in this holy war Athens was deprived by the corruption of Demosthenes. (7.) Demosthenes has involved the state in numerous calamities. Since he first assumed the administration of affairs, Thebes has been destroyed, the Lacedæmonians brought under the subjection of Alexander, and Athens, once the common refuge of the Greeks, forced to contend for her existence.

§§ 137 – 158. The alliance with Thebes considered. (1.) It was not Demosthenes, but the common danger from the proximity of Philip, that united Athens and Thebes. (2.) In the negotiations for this alliance Demosthenes committed three capital offences against the state : First, he made Athens assist in placing all Boeotia in the power of Thebes, caused Athens to bear two thirds of the expenses of the war conjointly waged, gave the command of the land force entirely to Thebes, and divided the control of the fleet. His second offence consists in taking away the proper authority of our Assembly and Senate, by giving the magistrates of Boeotia a share in all councils. His third and most heinous offence is that, by opposing the Theban magistrates in their desire to conclude a peace with Philip, to which the latter was also himself inclined, he is responsible for the disastrous results of the battle of Chaeronea. In crowning Demosthenes you crown the author of this slaughter, you perpetuate your own disgrace, and you recall to mind the misfortunes and sufferings of the wretched Thebans.

(d.) FOURTH PERIOD OF THE CAREER OF DEMOSTHENES EXAM-

INED, FROM CHERONEA, 338 B. C., DOWN TO THE PRESENT MOMENT, 330 B. C. (§§ 159 – 176.)

§§ 159 – 167. After the battle Demosthenes fled from the city, under pretence of collecting taxes. Upon his return he was full of fear. While he was not allowed by you to append his own name to any decree, he procured through others the passage of decrees honoring the murderer of Philip. He ridiculed Alexander, when at a distance; but when sent on an embassy to him, while he was investing Thebes, afraid to proceed farther than Mount Cithaeron, he ran back to Athens. And finally he sold himself to Alexander, as is shown from his neglect to improve three occasions for opposing him.

§§ 168 – 176. Demosthenes is shown to be neither a friend of free government nor a patriot, when the proper tests are applied to his life and character.

IV. CONSIDERATIONS DRAWN FROM PRECEDENTS WITH REFERENCE TO THE CROWNING AND TO THE MODE OF CONDUCTING THIS TRIAL. (§§ 177 – 214.)

§§ 177 – 190. In the most illustrious period of the republic, when the citizens displayed the greatest merit, public honors were sparingly bestowed. To confer honors frequently is to make them cheap.

§§ 191 – 214. In former times there was much greater reverence paid the laws, and much greater severity in trying indictments for illegal decrees. Precedents were not cited by way of justifying violations of law. Even friends brought prosecutions against friends, in every case in which the state was injured. The question how far a citizen may honestly and regularly plead for an offender is considered.

A law should be passed forbidding the employment of advocates in suits for illegality, as the merits of such suits are not vague. The jurors are cautioned against any attempt on the part of Ctesiphon to evade the real issue. Aeschines reviews the order

he has pursued in his speech, and charges the jurors to oblige Demosthenes to follow the same method in his defence, and to hold him rigidly to the points in question. Demosthenes will wail, revile, and swear, and all for the sake of a crown and proclamation. Ctesiphon and Demosthenes, while pretending to have no concern for themselves, express grave apprehensions for each other, and ought therefore not to be acquitted by their common judges.

V. ANTICIPATIONS OF CERTAIN CHARGES ABOUT TO BE MADE BY HIS OPPONENT. (§§ 215 – 229.)

Demosthenes will charge me with criminal silence, and with bringing a prosecution against his whole administration at this late day, after having neglected to impeach him at the time of his misdeeds. My silence has been owing to my life of abstinence, while, on the contrary, his speaking has been prompted by a desire for money to expend upon his extravagant indulgences. Besides, to speak occasionally is a proof that a man engages in public life as necessity requires ; but to harangue from day to day shows that he makes debating a trade. As to the second charge, he cannot have forgotten how publicly I convicted him of impious conduct with respect to the Amphissians, and of corrupt practices in the affairs of Eubcea ; and we can never forget how, as was shown by me at the time, he defrauded the city of sixty-five ships, when the armament of three hundred had been intrusted to him. His comparing me with the Sirens would come with better grace from a man whose only instrument is not his tongue.

VI. RECAPITULATION OF THE MAIN POINTS OF THE ARGUMENT. (§§ 230 – 259.)

(1.) §§ 230 – 235. The illegality of the decree, the character of Demosthenes, the reputation of the judges for consistency and honesty, and the safety of the republic, demand the conviction of the defendant.

(2.) §§ 236 – 240. Neither the clause that he surrounded the city with excellent fortifications, nor the general statement of his merits as a statesman, furnishes good reason for crowning him. For in building the fortifications he did the city no genuine service, since it was he who made them necessary. And the general statement is untrue; of which fact new proof is furnished by his diverting the seventy talents sent by Persia from the public service into his own coffers.

(3.) §§ 241 – 254. Demosthenes should not be suffered to speak his own praises. To crown him would be to disgrace the brave men of old who were crowned for their valor, and the memory of those who fell in battle; and would corrupt the youth by setting a pernicious example before them. Men who are so ready to lay claim to loyalty and patriotism must be required to produce evidence of their merit. The republic is endangered by the pretensions of these men, which serve them as a cloak for their schemes.

(4.) §§ 255 – 259. The judges are exhorted to confer their honors with a scrupulous delicacy, and not to be influenced by the arrogant pretensions of Demosthenes. Solon, Aristides, Themistocles, and the heroes of Marathon and Platæa, are appealed to as arrayed against the villany of Demosthenes and of his associates.

VII. PERORATION. (§ 260.)

If I have not spoken as I wished, I have spoken as I could. Do ye decide what is just and beneficial to the state, not only from what has been said, but also from what has been left unsaid.





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